



Daily Report

East Europe

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27 June 1990

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Carcani Pays Official Visit to Turkey

Previews Visit, Assesses Ties

*TA2406201990 Ankara Domestic Service
in Turkish 2000 GMT 24 Jun 90*

[Text] Albanian Prime Minister Adil Carcani will arrive in Turkey tomorrow as the official guest of Prime Minister Yildirim Akbulut. A Foreign Ministry statement on the issue says that during the talks, the two sides will discuss ways of further developing the existing friendship and cooperation between the two countries in every field. The statement points out that this will be the first official visit by an Albanian prime minister abroad.

Carcani conferred with Turkish parliamentary journalists in Tirana on the eve of his visit. He said that he is excited and happy about going to Turkey. He said that Albania is trying to keep in step with the changing conditions in the world, adding that the main principle of the Albanians is to protect their country's independence.

Carcani said that on the condition that they accept Albania as it is, the country is ready to establish relations with the United States and the Soviet Union.

Ozal Receives Carcani in Ankara

*AU2706095990 Tirana ATA in English 0801 GMT
27 Jun 90*

[Text] Tirana, June 26 (ATA)—The president of the Republic of Turkey, Turgut Ozal received on June 26 the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Comrade Adil Carcani, at his seat in Ankara. He expressed his satisfaction over this visit and highly assessed the development of the friendly relations between the two countries. He pointed to the traditional friendship, which as he said has marked a constant development. The current visit of the Albanian premier to Turkey is a testimony to the dynamics and positive development of the ancient relations between our two countries. It will further strengthen the Turkish-Albanian relations and creates conditions for new qualitative steps in our cooperation. Turkey fully supports Albania.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania Adil Carcani conveyed to the President Turgut Ozal the greetings of the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia repeating once again the invitation to visit Albania at a proper time.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania briefed the Turkish president on the present internal situation of our country and on the new important developments in Albania for the democratization of the country's life. He especially dwelt on the measures adopted

and applied for the improvement of the economic mechanism, legislation and other aspects of the political, economic, social life. These developments constitute an important and incessant process on the road to progress by our people and country for the present and future.

Further on Comrade Adil Carcani highly assessed the ancient historic relations and the development in the new and modern times of the Albanian-Turkish relations. He voiced the will of the Albanian Government to carry them forward in all fields of mutual interest, based on the principles of the policy of good neighbourliness and of the fruitful bilateral cooperation. The development of the Albanian-Turkish relations toward their further strengthening is to the interest of our countries and peoples, Comrade Adil Carcani said, adding that they serve also the strengthening of peace and security in the Balkans and Europe.

The President Turgut Ozal asked the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania to convey his greetings to the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania, Ramiz Alia. He accepted with pleasure the invitation to visit Albania.

During the talks conducted between Comrade Adil Carcani and the Turkish president, the latter briefed him on the internal and foreign policy of Turkey. Likewise, they talked on questions of the present situation in Europe, in the Balkans, Mediterranean and in the Middle East as well as questions of mutual interest of the international situation.

Special attention was devoted to the perspectives, new ways and forms for the strengthening and consolidation of the bilateral relations in the political, economic, technical-scientific fields etc.

The talks were attended for the Albanian side by the minister under the presidency of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Economic Cooperation With Foreign Countries Farudin Hoxha, the chairman of the culture and arts committee, Alfred Uci, the deputy-minister of foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani and other comrades whereas for the Turkish side by the Premier of the Republic of Turkey Yildirim Akbulut and other Turkish senior personalities.

Present were also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Ankara, Nesip Kaci and the ambassador of the Turkish Republic in Tirana, Teoman Surenkok.

The reception and talks were conducted in a very warm and friendly atmosphere.

At the end the president of the Republic of Turkey, Turgut Ozal, granted an interview to the journalists of ATA, radio television, Albanian newspapers escorting the Albanian government delegation.

Carcani, Akbulut Discuss Policy*AU2706103390 Tirana ATA in English 0813 GMT
27 Jun 90*

[Text] Tirana, June 26 (ATA)—The premier of the Republic of Turkey, Mr. Yildirim Akbulut received at the seat of the Turkish prime minister's office the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Comrade Adil Carcani and the Albanian government delegation accompanying him. On this occasion he wished once again Comrade Adil that his official and friendly visit to Turkey be a success for the strengthening of friendly relations and Turkish-Albanian cooperation. Comrade Adil Carcani said that the mission the Albanian people have charged the government delegation with is precisely the strengthening of friendship and bilateral relations as well as their lifting to new heights.

Following the reception the two premiers and the delegations headed by them entered into negotiations. In the course of these negotiations, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania, Adil Carcani and the premier of the Republic of Turkey, Yildirim Akbulut laid the stress on the great importance the Albanian Government and the Turkish one devote to the constant strengthening of ancient traditional and friendly relations between our two peoples and countries. Its expression is also this official and friendly visit, the first a head of the Government of Albania pays to Turkey.

They expressed their satisfaction over the fact that the relations between Albania and Turkey have progressed uninterruptedly and over the fact that no problem exists between the two states that could hinder the friendly cooperation or darken in the slightest their perspectives. The exchange of visits of different delegations and the intensification of contacts between senior official personalities over the recent years has contributed to the promotion of the bilateral links.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers of Albania, Adil Carcani, voiced his satisfaction over the visit to Turkey and pointed to the sincere sentiments of friendship the Albanian people cherish for the friendly Turkish people. We notice with pleasure that the Turkish people too cherish the same sentiments of friendship and respect for Albania, something that testifies to the ancient friendship, based on the historic links, the common traditions and customs, on the Albanians large in number who centuries ago and in modern times are settled, work and live in Turkey.

Comrade Adil Carcani invited the premier of the Republic of Turkey Yildirim Akbulut to visit our country. He accepted the invitation with pleasure.

Further on the Albanian premier spoke on some aspects of the internal policy of our country and the achievements scored by our people in all walks of life as well as on the measures adopted in our country for improving

the economic mechanism and the democratization of the whole life of our country, as a process in nonstop development.

After speaking of the recent developments in Europe, Comrade Adil Carcani dwelt on some aspects of the foreign policy of the Albanian state, whose main goal has been and is to safeguard independence, freedom and national sovereignty. He added that Albania is seriously engaged in the process of European security and cooperation, which would have no meaning had it not been accompanied by an intensive and fruitful cooperation among the countries of our region, by trade, technological, scientific, cultural exchanges, etc.

Comrade Adil Carcani expressed Albania's readiness for the development of relations with all the neighbouring countries and for overcoming the difficulties and solving the problems through dialogue, tolerance and understanding. In this context it is seriously engaged in the development of multilateral process of cooperation in the Balkans through bilateral or multilateral ways. The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR of Albania spoke also on problems of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean through processes similar with the European ones and added that disarmament in Europe cannot be understood without disarmament in the Mediterranean.

The premier of Turkey, Yildirim Akbulut once again laid the stress on the importance the Turkish Government devotes to the traditional relations and ancient historic ties between our two peoples and countries. He pointed to the fact that this summit visit, the first an Albanian premier pays to Turkey will give an impulse to the relations of cooperation between Turkey and Albania.

The Turkish premier highly evaluated the measures adopted in Albania in the field of running and organising the economy, of improving the legislation and the developments in the foreign policy of our country. Further on he treated of some aspects of the situation in Europe and of Turkey's foreign policy. The Turkish Government, Yildirim Akbulut went on, devotes special attention also to the relations with the neighbouring countries and supports the process initiated in the recent years in the Balkans to strengthen the regional cooperation.

Attending talks from the Turkish side were the minister of state, Ismet Ozaslan, the undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Tugai Asqeri [spelling as received] and other senior personalities, whereas from the Albanian side the minister under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Economic Cooperation With Foreign Countries, Farudin Hoxha, the chairman of the Committee of Culture and Arts Alfred Uci, the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani and others.

Present were also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Ankara, Nesip

Kaci and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey in Tirana Teoman Surenkok.

The talks were conducted in a sincere and friendly atmosphere.

Assembly President Receives Carcani

AU2706104990 Tirana ATA in English 0830 GMT
27 Jun 90

[Text] Tirana, June 26 (ATA)—The president of the Grand National Assembly of the Republic of Turkey Kaya Erdem received on June 26 at its seat the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Comrade Adil Carcani and the personalities escorting him.

The president of the Turkish parliament Kaya Erdem voiced his satisfaction over the intensification of summit contacts between the parliaments of the two countries, which play an important role for the development and strengthening of the ancient traditional links between our two peoples.

On his part Premier Adil Carcani said that the strengthening of the relations between the parliaments of the two countries and their members, as direct representatives of our peoples is indispensable for the constant consolidation of our century long friendship.

Carcani Visits Ataturk's Grave

AU2706112390 Tirana ATA in English 0838 GMT
27 Jun 90

[Text] Tirana, June 26 (ATA)—On June 26 the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Adil Carcani and the Albanian government delegation escorting him, paid homage to the grave of the distinguished man of the Turkish people, the close friend of our people, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk.

In memory and respect to his deed, Comrade Adil Carcani laid a wreath on the grave of Ataturk on the inscription: "The chairman of the Council of Ministers Adil Carcani on behalf of the Albanian people for the great man of the Turkish people".

Then the chairman of the Council of Ministers of Albania and the other members of the Albanian delegation visited the mausoleum devoted to Ataturk. There

are displayed various materials and objects, testimony to his life and political and social activity.

At the end of his visit to the mausoleum, Comrade Adil Carcani wrote in the visitors' book: "I deem it an honour to be given the opportunity to pay homage to the memory of Mustafa Kemal, this great statesman of modern Turkey, the distinguished democrat and military strategist who through his life and deed won the minds and hearts of the Turkish people, who baptized him with a very honourable name: the father of the Turks (ataturk)".

Attends Embassy Reception

AU2706113390 Tirana ATA in English 0842 GMT
27 Jun 90

[Text] Tirana, June 27 (ATA)—On occasion of the official and friendly visit of the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSRA [People's Socialist Republic of Albania], Comrade Adil Carcani to Turkey, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Albania in Ankara. Nesip Kaci, gave a reception at the embassy seat on June 26.

Attending were the Premier of the Republic of Turkey Mr. Yildirim Akbulut and his wife, the Ministers of State Ismet Ozaslan, Kamuran Inan, Kemal Akkaya, the Foreign Minister Ali Bozer, the Minister of Tourism Ilhan Akuzum, the Minister of Health Halil Sivgin, the Vice- President of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey Abdulhalim Aras [spelling as received], the President of Universities Is' Han Doramaci [spelling as received], deputies to the Grand National Turkish Assembly, senior officials of the government, of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, numerous friends and well-wishers of Albania, reporters, Turkish citizens of Albanian origin, etc.

Attending were also heads of the diplomatic representations accredited in Ankara.

The reception passed in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Further Reportage

WA2606153690

For Turkish reportage on the visit by Premier Adil Carcani to Turkey, please see the Turkey section of the 26 June West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

'40,000' Opposition Members Demonstrate in Sofia*AU2606202290 Vienna Television Service
in German 1945 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Text] About 40,000 opposition followers demonstrated against the ruling Socialists in the center of Sofia. The Socialist Party, which has developed out of the former Communist Party, won an absolute majority in the elections held two weeks ago. Speakers of the opposition alliance Union of Democratic Forces accused the Socialists of election fraud. They also expressed solidarity for the students, who have been boycotting lectures for two weeks and who continue to occupy part of the university campus. The Bulgarian Interior Ministry has threatened to end the student protests by force.

Lilov Consults Parties on Coalition; All Refuse*AU2606193290 Sofia BTA in English
1803 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Text] Sofia, 26 Jun (BTA)—Over the last few days Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, conferred separately with Mr. Viktor Vulkov, chairman of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, with Mr. Milan Drenchev, chief secretary of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party, with Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces, with Dr. Petur Dertliev, chairman of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, with Mr. Aleksandur Karakachanov, chairman of the Green Party, with Mr. Petko Simeonov, chairman of the Federation of Glasnost and Democracy Clubs, and with Prof. Dr. Elka Konstantinova, president of the Radical Democratic Party.

They discussed topical political questions concerning the possibility to form a coalition government with the participation of the major political forces which, according to the Bulgarian Socialist Party, is the best solution for the country after the elections to a Grand National Assembly.

During the talks, which were held in a spirit of mutual respect, the opposition leaders declined to take part in a coalition government.

The political consultations on the formation of a new government are going on.

Strikes Continue, Demands Issued, Support Grows**SDS Rallies Behind Students***AU2706103090 Sofia MLADZHZH in Bulgarian
26 Jun 90 p 2*

[Martin Krustev report: "The Blue Rally Appealed: 'Freedom, Democracy, Strike'"]

[Text] "Blue Sofia" has not given up its rallies. Tens of thousands of people came to the square in front of St. Aleksandur Nevski Cathedral in Sofia to express their

support for the striking students. All members of the Coordination Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] attended the rally. Rozita Boteva, the mother of a striking student, said: "We are proud to see that we have brought up worthy people in this unworthy epoch." Other representatives of the Parents' Initiative Committee and the Council of Parents and Lecturers—Supporters of the Strike, said similar things. It was announced that at 0800 [0500 GMT] today [25 June] they would begin a relay hunger strike in front of the National Assembly. Representatives of most of the higher educational establishments spoke at the rally or read declarations of the institutions they represented. Vasil Petrov, spokesman for the strike committee of Sofia's St. Kliment Okhridski University, explained that the strike is a supra-party one, that it began because of the "information blackout about facts related to election manipulations," and that it causes difficulties in academic life. A representative of the striking students at the Higher Institute for Theater Arts read a list of demands, which included the resignation of Pavel Pisarev [chairman of the Committee on Radio and Television] and the conducting of an independent experts' investigation of the 14 December 1989 video material. He stated that if those demands are met the registration of new students could begin on 4 July, with the assistance of the striking students. Stelyan Stoychev compared the strike with the events on Tiananmen Square and the "Prague Spring." Emil Koshlukov was rather brief: "Today Sofia, tomorrow—the last godforsaken village!" Elka Konstantinova said that the present events have been prompted by the "total manipulation and partial rigging" of the elections.

Parents, Teachers in Support*AU2606140790 Sofia BTA in English
1327 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Text] Sofia, 26 Jun (BTA)—A relay hunger strike was declared here today in support of students' demands.

Eight people—university teachers, students' parents, guarantors for the students' strikes and journalists—stood in front of the building of the National Assembly this morning. By noon they became 21. By 1400 hrs [11 GMT] they had collected the signatures of more than one thousand Bulgarians in support of the students' demands.

"Our children taught us a good lesson in democracy. We cannot but take their side," writer Kolyo Sevov, father of two girl students, said. He has been in the university since the first day of the sit-in strike and declared himself to be a guarantor for the students' demands. Mr. Sevov is one of the first who went on a hunger strike in front of the National Assembly.

The relay hunger strike of the students of the Higher Institute of Drama Art is going on.

Some of the students in the university also went on a hunger strike.

The student conflict has not been settled yet. A spokesman of the strike committee said at a rally last night that the students would fight to the end.

Today the Coordinating Council of the Independent Trade Unions at the University of Sofia proposed to the students to start negotiations tomorrow. The trade unions point out their respect for the students' civic protest, but they consider that a precedent of political activity at the university has been created which threatens its autonomy.

Journalists Union Declaration

AU2606160090 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Today the Federal Council of the Bulgarian Journalists Union [BJU] held a meeting to discuss a proposal on adopting a view on the students' strike and on organizing a news conference with the strike committee.

The Federal Council did not adopt the proposal and instructed the union leadership to resolve the problem of the news conference. It was stated that up to 26 June, today, the leadership of the BJU had not received any demand from the students' strike committee to organize a news conference with the strike committee's representatives. If such a proposal is received, the leadership of the BJU is willing to offer assistance, as soon as it is told of the date, time, and location of the news conference, without involving itself in any political commitments. In such an event, the BJU will only carry out its [words indistinct] and professional obligations.

In the name of objectivity, the BJU is of the opinion that if such a news conference is organized, representatives of the academic bodies should also be invited to attend.

The meeting of the Federal Council also discussed other important matters, and adopted the following declaration:

During the period of the election campaign in Bulgaria, Bulgarian journalists had to face serious tests. Unused to the possibility of the existence of more than one [words indistinct] of the facts, unused to public control over the authenticity of reported facts, [words indistinct] with competing publications, and, most of all, unused to their immense responsibility for maintaining freedom of speech in a civilized state, irrespective of strong pressure on the part of the political forces, the journalists spared no efforts in their attempt to fulfill their mission.

Naturally we cannot fail to be alarmed by the cases of disinformation and distortion of the facts, of unworthy attitudes toward political opponents, and violations of the privacy of the individual.

Our colleagues from the newspapers DUMA and DEMOKRATSIYA made the greatest contributions in (?publicizing) cases of violations of journalists' actions. The Bulgarian journalists will continue unswervingly in the future to create a background (?encouraging) the development of tolerance in Bulgarian political life.

We hope, the declaration of the BJU Federal Council states, that [passage indistinct].

Journalistic ethics require every member of the union to maintain the good name of the profession. This is our responsibility to our society and its future, the declaration of the BJU Federal Council concludes.

Students Demand News Conference

AU2606193190 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] The students' strike committee has issued an appeal to the political parties, Council of Ministers, Bulgarian Television and Radio, and all the mass media, which states:

We, striking students from the higher education establishments in Bulgaria, appeal to the leaderships of the political parties and coalitions, to the Council of Ministers, and to the organizations engaged in monitoring the fairness of the elections, for their assistance in holding a news conference on 30 June 1990.

The aim of this news conference is to publicize all reports concerning violations of the electoral process, to adopt a view concerning the authenticity of the video material shot on 14 December 1989 in connection with what was said by Petur Mladenov, and also to adopt a view on the issue of the resignation of Pavel Pisarev, chairman of the Television Committee.

In connection with the first and last points of our declaration of 16 June 1990, we issue a call to the main political forces, their leaders, and parliamentary groups as appropriate, to commit themselves to demanding an investigation of the validity of the elections held and violations of the electoral process, which is to be carried out by a public and parliamentary commission, which is to include representatives of the striking students. In our view this is especially important, because it would ensure public control over the investigation, as well as ensure glasnost is the investigation's progress.

We insist that a view on this proposal of ours should be formed before 30 June 1990.

With regard to the news conference which we propose, we consider that it should be broadcast by Bulgarian Television and Radio and given full publicity by all the mass media, in order to enable the Bulgarian and international public to be fully informed concerning the above-mentioned problems, which would partially meet our main demands.

Higher Education Minister 'Alarmed'

AU2606182590 Sofia BTA in English
1730 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 26 Jun (BTA)—“We are alarmed by the unlawful actions by part of the students which lead to social tensions and disrupt the normal operation of the higher educational establishments,” Academician Asen

Khadzhiolov, minister of science and higher education, told the press. He explained that under the collegiate autonomy act, all institutes of higher learning are independent of the state and he was merely stating the position of the ministry he heads.

Academician Khadzhiolov believes that if there is a will on the part of the striking students, of the managements of the occupied colleges and of the institutions which have to take a stand on the students' demands, the dispute can be settled soon. The government and the prime minister in person are ready to assist in that, he said. Concerning the students' demand for the televised videotape compromising the president to be examined by independent experts, Academician Khadzhiolov said he had talked personally with Mr. Petur Mladenov, who not only agrees but even insists on an independent expert examination.

Internal Affairs Ministry Declaration

AU2606175690 Sofia BTA in English
1738 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 26 Jun (BTA)—The BTA has received a declaration from the Ministry of Internal Affairs which reads:

"The sit-in strike, which students began on the premises of the St Kliment Ohridski University of Sofia on June 11 to 12, 1990, has been supported by students in other institutes of higher learning. Effective sit-ins were declared in some of them, too. All this has led to a serious disruption, and in some institutions to the discontinuance of classes, term examinations and entrance examinations and of the overall normal collegiate proceedings.

"Spokesmen speaking on behalf of the strike committees have already approached the media to list the striking students' demands which have repeatedly changed since the beginning of the strike. The demands have escalated to attempts at direct interference in the work of the supreme bodies of state power and administration.

"Mindful of its constitutional functions, the Ministry of Internal Affairs cannot support what is essentially a political action which is carried out on the premises of autonomous and depoliticized educational establishments, an action which prevents non-striking students, applicants for admission and lecturers from realizing their legally protected rights, freedoms and interests; an action whose mechanism of implementation has to be clearly assessed under the provisions of the penal code and which in any case constitutes an unwarranted breach of the lawfully established public order.

"In connection with the above, and provided they receive a formal order from the prosecutor's office, the competent authorities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are ready to take action in order to restore order and the normal operation of the higher educational establishments."

Sanctions Announced

AU2706142390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
26 Jun 90 pp 1, 2

[Boryana Buchvarova and Plamen Enchev report: "Individuals Responsible for Obstructing Traffic in Sofia's Center Will Be Fined"]

[Text] The individuals identified by the Ministry of Internal Affairs as those responsible for blocking traffic for 24 hours on Ruski Avenue in Sofia on Sunday, 24 June, will be handed over to the chairman of the "Sredets" Municipal People's Council or to the Sofia mayor for sanctions, Major Nikolay Nikolov, spokesman of the Sofia Internal Affairs Directorate, announced.

In accordance with Paragraph 1, Article 14 of the Law on Public Meetings, Rallies, and Demonstrations, a fine amounting to 300 leva is envisaged as long as the violators are not subject to even more severe punishment.

As it is known, the members of the initiative committee in question, represented by Yordan Petkov, Spartak Gelev, and Oleg Tenev, refused to obey the order of the Sofia People's Council which proclaimed their actions on Sunday, 24 June, at 1545, illegal.

The reaction of the protesters was unmistakable. They declared that they refuse to observe the law. The militia investigators identified 37 of them, but the rest of them were not carrying identification.

The background of the conflict can be described as follows: As early as on Saturday, 23 June, at approximately 1000, representatives of the Civil Disobedience Initiative Committee appeared at Sofia Militia Headquarters and insisted on conducting their protest march on Ruski Avenue from the University to the Eagle's Bridge on Sunday, 24 June, from 0000 to 2400. They were sent to the Sofia City People's Council, where they failed, however, to submit written notification of their march in support of the students on strike.

The deadline for notification about such events was not observed. According to Article 8 of the Law on Public Meetings, Rallies, and Demonstrations, demonstrations should be announced at least 48 hours in advance. In urgent cases they can be announced within 24 hours, but even this deadline was not observed.

Article 5 of the aforementioned law, which specifies that such demonstrations are banned between 2200 and 0600 was also violated.

According to reliable sources, as early as at 2300 on 23 June, the son of a well-known actor, who recently has become notorious for his noisily proclaimed political affiliations, arrived on the spot in his private automobile, stopped, and speaking through a megaphone, urged the people to obstruct traffic on the avenue. He disturbed people's sleep, and he was warned about this.

The event started precisely at the hour scheduled by the organizers and ended no earlier than at the time announced in advance.

At yesterday's meeting of the Sofia City People's Council the event was categorically defined as a gross breach of the law and of public order. It was proposed that the Prosecutor's Office should take action against the violators for not having obeyed the instructions of the Sofia City People's Council.

At least five paragraphs of the Law on City Traffic were encroached upon in this connection, the movement of public transport vehicles having been obstructed. The damage caused to trolleys alone amounts to 9540 leva. The direct losses caused by the detours the buses were forced to make have so far not been assessed.

Mayor Stefan Ninov reprimanded the militia forces for having failed to adopt measures to prevent the obstruction of traffic. General Purvan Rusinov, chief of the Sofia militia forces, stated that not one of the articles or paragraphs of the Law on Public Meetings, Rallies, and Demonstrations specifically applies to the duties of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs. Nonetheless, reinforced units of the militia forces were involved in the act of civil disobedience throughout the 24 hours in question. Many of them were forced to neglect their regular duties related to the protection of law and order in other locations of the capital.

Probe Into Alleged Mladenov Statement Continues

Prosecutor: Investigation 'Hampered'

AU2606181890 Sofia BTA in English
1721 GMT 26 Jun 90

["Non-Delivery of Originals Hampers Investigation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 26 Jun (BTA)—The non-delivery of the original video tape and the equipment the film was made with has hampered the investigation and is a serious obstacle to establishing the objective truth, it is said in an announcement of the Central Prosecuting Magistracy made public this afternoon in connection with the video record of the words President Mladenov uttered at the rally of December 14 last year.

On June 22, 1990 the Central Prosecuting Magistracy instituted the respective proceedings and began an investigation to clarify the circumstances in which the video record was made and prepared for broadcast and to establish whether president's statement is conveyed correctly. The Central Prosecuting Magistracy required the original video tape, the sound track and the video camera the statement was filmed with.

The Bulgarian Television replied that the "reel containing the original tape of December 14, 1989 was not found."

On June 23 a written request was presented personally to the leader of the opposition, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, insisting on the delivery of the original video tape and on providing information about its author and the people involved in the processing of the video tape.

Today the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) presented a copy of the material aired by the television in the SDS Election Studio on June 14 this year along with a copy of the video tape made on December 14, 1989, it is said in the announcement of the Central Prosecuting Magistracy. It is underlined that the non-delivery of the original materials and the respective equipment is an obstacle to finding out the truth and amounts to a gross violation of the Code of Criminal Procedure according to which organizations, officials and citizens are obliged to deliver objects and documents required in connection with instituted proceedings.

The announcement points out the readiness of the Central Prosecuting Magistracy to enroll specialists from the Bulgarian Television, the Actors for Democracy Movement, persons appointed by the SDS and foreign experts for the investigation.

Independent Verification Demanded

AU2606193490 Sofia BTA in English
1758 GMT 26 Jun 90

["On the President Video"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 26 Jun (BTA)—"We insist that the expert examination in the preliminary inquiry should necessarily involve specialists designated by us, because the tape was filmed and telecast by members of the Union of Bulgarian Film Workers," says a declaration of the union circulated to the BTA today. It was issued in connection with a videotape showing President Mladenov as saying "the best thing to do is to call in the tanks" on December 14, 1989. The tape was telecast in the Union of Democratic Forces' election campaign slot on June 14.

The film-makers insist that the camera and the videotape be handled by the investigative authorities only in the presence of representatives of their union and of the person who filmed the video. The declaration goes on to say that other expert examinations can be held, too, on the condition that the input material for the TV programme remain in the hands of its rightful owner.

The press today circulated the stand of the Artists for Democracy Movement, which suggests a neutral civilian commission of expert film-makers to work outside the preliminary proceedings instituted by the Prosecutor General's Office. The commission comprises directors, cameramen, sound engineers, continuity editors and dubbing editors belonging to different political parties and movements.

One demand of the striking students at the Higher Institute of Acting is that two film departments undergraduates take part in the expert examination.

The Spasenie (Salvation) Christian Union wants an international expert examination.

SDS Wants International Examination

AU2606195390 Sofia BTA in English
1935 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 26 Jun (BTA)—“We are ready to make the original videotape available to an authoritative commission of experts comprising foreign specialists and representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces,” said the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) in a statement occasioned by the announcement of the Criminal Investigation Department which was circulated today.

The statement says further on that the SDS today handed officials of the Criminal Investigation Department a videocassette containing the telecast footage and re-records of the original videotapes of the events in the National Assembly Square on December 14, 1989, as well as a letter in which the Coordinating Council insists on an international expert examination with the participation of SDS representatives.

The statement says the Coordinating Council has not been approached with a formal request to hand over the camera with which the video was made.

Besides this, there are no separate video and audio-recording, the statement emphasizes. The original videotape and the camera with which the events were filmed have been formally delivered to the SDS Coordinating Council for safe-keeping.

Executives ‘Dissociate’ From Pisarev

AU2606182290 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] BTA has received a declaration signed by Ivan Popyordanov, deputy chairman of the Television Commission; Kevork Kevorkyan, program director; Ivan Garelov, editor in chief of the Panorama Program; and Ivan Konstantinov, chief editor for information. The declaration states:

We inform the Bulgarian public that we, as members of the management of the Television Committee, dissociate ourselves from the one-man actions of Pavel Pisarev, chairman of the Television Committee, which violate the independent, supraparty nature of Bulgarian Television.

INFAS Role in Election Campaign Criticized

AU2606075290 Sofia BTA in English
0711 GMT 26 Jun 90

[“Petko Simeonov Rejects INFAS Accusations”—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 26 Jun (BTA)—INFAS, the West German [public opinion] Institute, has recently circulated announcements in the press which address accusations

at Petko Simeonov from the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], for making impossible the working out of an election forecast which would have been run by INFAS after the closing of the election desks.

Petko Simeonov told a BTA reporter that the decision not to make sociological enquiries on the election day belongs to President Mladenov and the opposition complied with this decision. The SDS also intended to carry an enquiry and make a forecast about the elections results but after the president's decision gave up its intentions.

Petko Simeonov specified that he is not a spokesman of the opposition as INFAS called him but deputy chairman of the SDS and chairman of the Federation of the Clubs for Openness and Democracy.

INFAS may be an honest, renowned and world-famous agency but within the context it interfered or was made to interfere, it played, in fact, the role of a manipulator, said in an interview with DEMOKRATSIYA SDS leader Zhelyu Zhelev. According to him the main thing in that case was that in Bulgaria INFAS did not have its own information sources but relied on information which was given to it.

Zhelev Accuses BSP of Election ‘Manipulation’

AU2706084690 Sofia BTA in English
0745 GMT 27 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 27 Jun (BTA)—“The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] stole between 10 and 15 percent of the votes of the Union of Democratic Forces through a total manipulation of the electorate,” claims Dr Zhelyu Zhelev, the leader of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), in an interview for TRUD.

Dr Zhelev describes the BSP proposal for a coalition government as an attempt to shift part of the responsibility for Bulgaria's disastrous economic situation resulting from 45 years of communist rule. He predicts serious differences between “old and young” in the BSP. In this sense, the election victory will prove a Pyrrhic victory not only for Bulgaria but for the ruling party as well, Dr Zhelev believes.

Listing some of the crucial campaign errors of the opposition which are now being analyzed, the SDS leader lists a belated shift of focus to positive propaganda (the progressive component in the SDS program) from negative propaganda (disclosing the shady past of the Bulgarian Communist Party) and the inadequate organization in the provinces due to the short time available.

Dr Zhelev said that the decision of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party to support the SDS in the second round of voting came as a pleasant surprise. The SDS parliamentary faction will consist of 29 national representatives for the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party, 23 for the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, 22 for the Federation of Glasnost and Democracy Clubs, 15 for

Ecoglasnost, 9 for the Green Party, 7 for the Democratic Party, 6 for the Radical Democratic Party, and others.

Dr Zhelev accuses the BSP of having "inspired" the establishment of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms and its "antipodes", the Fatherland Party of Labor "in order to break up the opposition vote."

The consolidation of the SDS parliamentary faction, the tabling of a package of economic and political reform motions and the preparations for the local elections in the autumn are the SDS priorities after the elections, the opposition leader says.

DUMA Urges Accelerated Party Reforms

AU2606132590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
25 Jun 90 p 4

[Boris Dankov article: "Changes 'On the Move'"]

[Excerpts] The election results confirmed our party's victory. This was one of the most dramatic moments in the party's history; perhaps the most dramatic one, because in the past, the choice rather applied to the party's opportunistic goals, while this time it was a question of its very existence and survival. Some Western political observers were puzzled by the "Bulgarian phenomenon" which they attributed to the "conservatism" of the Bulgarian public. They actually overlooked the essential factor, namely that regardless of gross violations committed in the past, our party has earned the credit of promoting Bulgaria's progress toward civilization. This is true, despite the totalitarian regime and in spite of all other tragic vicissitudes which our party experienced throughout its development. Our political opponents are now trying to assess the election results with their own "measuring stick," claiming that in spite of winning the majority in parliament, the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] would remain an isolated minority in our society.

The BSP won the people's vote of confidence and this not only justifies its right to existence (which some contest), but also entitles the party to act and engage in accelerated changes. This is the historical chance which the BSP should not miss. It determines the party's responsibility for democracy and for Bulgaria's future. It is not a question of playing a "Messianic" role, or of being irreplaceable. Time subjects our ideological and moral values, our capability of adjusting to the dimensions of the contemporary world, to the criteria and requirements of a modern party, to a severe test and to total reassessment.

The changes in question are promptly and urgently required.

Considering the existing historical realities and the conditions of sharp political struggle—confronted with an opposition which applies the methods of psychological pressure and of strategic scenarios prepared in advance—our party's

transformation should proceed at an accelerated pace and in permanent motion. [passage omitted]

A change in motion means a change in the way of thinking, in style and behavior, in moral criteria and individual responsibilities, a change that should not be accomplished through the traditional methods of "Stalinist directives," but through a sensible and patient approach and persuasion of the people without officious elitism and vulgar populism. [passage omitted]

The change in motion requires a new set of instruments, above all things. It requires specific ideas of renewal which should be constantly updated. This means that we should resolutely part with talmudism, with pseudo-scientific eclecticism, and simplified cliches. The party platform should be transformed for this purpose by preventing its basic principles from being turned into ossified dogmas. It would perhaps be expedient to establish alternative groups in charge of strategic projects, consisting of 10-15 young, but highly qualified experts aged between 25 and 35. [passage omitted]

In addition to these groups, but on the basis of the same principles, we should also set up expert units composed of specialists in charge of dealing with party tactics determining the party's behavior and reaction to the tactical moves of the opposition and of the other socio-political forces in the country. [passage omitted]

Such structures should be immediately established to replace the sluggish and almost totally useless apparatus inherited from the former Central Committee. The apparatus showed its total incapacity to adopt prompt and effective decisions in the process of preparing and conducting the election campaign. It demonstrated its immobility, its conservative approach, its incapability of disciplined and concentrated efforts in a decisive political campaign. [passage omitted]

The party's organizational structure is urgently required, considering that, after the primary party organizations were disbanded, numerous Socialists continued to "hang in the air." The immediate establishment of a modern party's club network is required on a local scale. [passage omitted] The new party clubs should have nothing in common with the "primitive Bolshevik-style of education." Their activities should be based on the principles and forms of modern, Western parties. [passage omitted].

The BSP municipal councils should become the coordinating links of the party clubs, while the staff of their apparatus should be reduced to a minimum in accordance with the territorial size of a given municipality, or settlement. [passage omitted]

Last, (but not least), the structure of the Supreme Party Council and the former Central Committee apparatus which it inherited, in particular, cannot remain unchanged. Young, highly educated political scientists and managers should be recruited to serve on a contract basis. [passage omitted]

Under such unbureaucratic conditions, the Supreme Party Council can be in charge of strategic leadership basing itself on proposals, analyses, polls, and alternative solutions, while the presidium should assume the responsibility of implementing such decisions in detail and of determining the party's strategic course and tactics under a more global aspect.

Urgent actions are required! The aforementioned change in motion is not the result of wishful thinking, or a sudden, bright idea; it is an objective and topical requirement responding to the party's aspiration for total change and democratization of society. The BSP won a vote of confidence which it should not only use as its own historical chance. The party should promptly and urgently accomplish its political change by adopting a new concept, a new image, and new strength, in order to assert itself as a vital, young, and energetic force striving for a humane and just ideal.

BSP Reformers Want To Establish New Party

AU2606103290 Sofia BTA in English
0933 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 26 Jun (BTA)—The BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] should firmly and name by name distance itself from all its leading activists and members who bear political responsibility for the crisis in the party and society, reads an appeal to the BSP members and supporters, signed by Anzhel Vagenshtayn, Asen Zhablenski, Ventsel Raychev and other intellectuals, members of the reformers currents in the BSP. The appeal is carried by DUMA.

In its half-way actions of compromise, the appeal reads, the present political leadership proved that it is changing mainly under the pressure of events but that it is unable to foresee and direct them. According to this appeal part of this leadership carries the political and psychological burden of the totalitarian past and the public opinion links it with the old regime.

The appeal says that as a result of the elections the BSP remained an important factor in this country's political life but the credit of confidence in the BSP would fade away if in the nearest months it does not turn into a modern left parliamentary party. This does not refer to renewal, but to the creation of an essentially new party in the spirit of the democratic socialist European tradition. Only such kind of party would be able to overcome political isolation in which the BSP is now.

According to the radicals, the analysis of the political picture in the country showed that the BSP does not have the support of a considerable part of the youth, intellectuals and the citizens of the large cities. If that trend was preserved, the BSP took the risk to turn into a conservative and outdated political organization.

The authors of the appeal think that the reformers rather poorly represented in the BSP parliamentary group. This was due to the shortsighted composition of the party

lists. The pre-election polarization has objectively restricted the activity of the reformers' currents and has created a possibility for consolidation of the conservative forces in the party. The reformers were often used as a screen behind which forces related with the past demonstrated the existence of a change.

At present neither the radical movements nor the party itself nor its apparatus have responded adequately to the situation, the appeal says. The radicals declared themselves for the new enrollment of all BSP members and the release of all discredited members of the party bodies, for direct election of the congress delegates and formation of the party bodies on the delegate-principle basis. All "Social-Democrats" are called to unite their efforts for the founding of clubs for a radical change.

MRF Accused of Past 'Illegal Activities'

Labor's Arnaudov Comments

AU2206145490 Sofia BTA in English
1313 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 22 Jun (BTA)—I am afraid of imagining a coalition government with the involvement of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [MRF]. This may lead to a very sharp reaction in some regions, Mr. Dimitur Arnaudov, the only National Assembly deputy from the National Party of Labour, told a BTA reporter.

Mr. Arnaudov is chairman of the Nationwide Committee for the Protection of National Interests (OKZNI), established late last year in response to the decision on the return of the names to the forcefully renamed Turks and Moslems during the so called "revival process." Later on OKZNI and some other movements set up the Alliance for Bulgaria opposition coalition, while the candidates for M.P.'s from the coalition were included in the list of the National Party of Labour. Mr. Arnaudov said he will represent the interests of OKZNI in parliament.

The OKZNI supporters from Kurdzhali, Razgrad and other areas of mixed population have recently come out with a declaration against the presence in the Grand National Assembly of M.P.'s from the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), accusing them of illegal activities in the past.

Mr. Arnaudov specified the DPS's election success was not questionable. He wanted an investigation into the acts of the M.P.'s who were alleged to have taken part in illegal anti-constitutional activity in the past.

The OKZNI leader says there are enough proofs that the DPS is established on an ethnic and religious basis. The very evolution of the movement, which according to Mr. Arnaudov has initially existed as a clandestine organization, and subsequently as a Movement for Rights and Freedoms of the Turks and Moslems in Bulgaria, allegedly confirmed this thesis. Besides, the latest statements of DPS leader Ahmed Dogan have shown the movement was not struggling for rights and freedoms of individuals

but for rights and freedoms of a community, which is an unprecedented case in world practices. Mr. Dogan regarded the Bulgarian nation as a mixture of ethnic communities and sought not a consolidation of their community to the Bulgarian nation but a consolidation within their own community. That is why Mr. Arnaudov doubts the National Assembly will be in a position to flawlessly pass a democratic bill to regulate citizens' rights alone, not giving community rights.

Mr. Arnaudov says the very registration of the DPS to take part in the elections contradicted the Constitution, the Law on the Parties, which disallows the existence of parties on a religious and ethnic basis, but no one has so far expounded the reasons or assumed the responsibility for that. No political force in parliament has so far clearly shown its attitude to the DPS.

One of Mr. Arnaudov's main concerns in his words will be to place these questions at the National Assembly. Besides, he intends not to side with any of the factions in parliament but to defend any constructive idea, irrespective of its source.

Accusations Rejected

AU2606182990 Sofia BTA in English
1736 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 26 Jun (BTA)—Interviewed for the BTA, Mr. Osman Oktay, chief secretary of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF), rejected the accusations that activists of the movement in Razgrad Region, northern Bulgaria, allegedly terrorized Bulgarians.

Mr. Oktay said that Mr. Mikhail Boev, who posed as a victim of political violence and whose accusations yesterday were supported by representatives of the Bulgarian National Democratic Party, was actually at odds with a fellow-villager who is not a member of the MRF. Both were under the influence of alcohol when the incident occurred.

"This was an ordinary brawl without political character," Mr. Oktay said. He said that three eyewitnesses, two of whom are not MRF members, can confirm that.

The competent authorities are investigating the case.

Kardzhali Group Issues Declaration

AU2706111490 Sofia BTA in English
1042 GM 27 Jun 90

[Text] Kurdzhali, 27 Jun (BTA)—The Committee for Defense of National Interests and the Fatherland Party of Labor in Kurdzhali have issued a declaration categorically insisting that the registration of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) as a political party be canceled, because this act runs counter to key provisions of the January 15, 1990 Declaration of the National Assembly, and that the votes cast for the movement in the elections to a Grand National Assembly be annulled.

"In the days before and after the elections, the Movement for Rights and Freedoms distanced itself from the mass power base on which it was established at the beginning of this year. The Bulgarian public is concerned by its extreme political demands for Bulgaria's integration with the Islamic world," the declaration says.

CTK Reports 'Ban' on Sale of Food to Foreigners

AU2606142590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 22 Jun 90 p 7

[Unattributed CTK report: "Czechoslovak Consul General in Varna Confirms: Food (Meanwhile) Only for the Locals"]

[Text] Sofia— In Varna there is a ban on the sale of food to foreign nationals in the retail trade network. This was confirmed by Michal Botik, consul general of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic in that Bulgarian coastal town, in a telephone interview with the CTK correspondent in Sofia yesterday.

Michal Botik said that the decision was approved by the Varna Municipal People's Council in view of the shortage of food in the shops and the extraordinary interest shown in them by "tourists" from some neighboring countries. The shortages concern primarily dairy products, meat, sugar, and alcohol. The sale of bread has reportedly not been restricted thus far.

According to information available to the Czechoslovak consulate, this decision applies only to Varna for the time being. However, the consulate's employees are studying the situation in the other coastal cities as well. The consul general will soon hold a meeting with representatives of the Varna People's Council and request them to exempt Czechoslovak tourists from the ban. The Czechoslovak public will be informed about the outcome of these talks.

Tourists who spend their vacation in Bulgarian hotels need not worry about food supply. It should also be possible to buy food in restaurants, though at prices which are much higher than in previous years.

Commentary Says Voucher System Form of Rationing

AU2606143890 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
25 Jun 90 p 1

[Rayna Vulcheva commentary: "Let Us Stop Burying Our Heads in the Sand"]

[Text] Over 10 years ago the former minister of domestic trade appeared on the television screen and with his most engaging smile reassured the nation that prices would not increase. Only a few days later, "a group" of basic foodstuffs and consumer goods prices were "corrected," escalating them to skyrocketing heights.

A few days ago, the present minister of domestic trade also appeared on the television screen and reassured anxious consumers that no rationing system would be introduced

and that there would be plenty of sugar on the market (which was also reported by the newspapers and BTA).

Ration cards, such as I remember them from my early childhood, do not exist. However, there are vouchers. A coupon (ration card) means a "tear-off ticket," while a voucher is a piece of paper against which you receive something. Considering that the settlement of the consumers' market has been entrusted to the careful hands of local dignitaries and to their imagination, they are distributing vouchers among the population (presumably to avoid the postwar methods and unpleasant associations connected with them). You receive two kilograms of sugar in exchange for the voucher. Whenever vouchers have not yet been introduced, the "initiative" has been entrusted to the store managers, with the blessing of the local authorities, of course.

This method achieves a triple effect. In the first place—it confirms the fact that "no" ration cards exist! In the second place, the system serves the promotion of municipal "self-government." In the third place it guarantees that a two-member family and an eight-member family both receive the same quantity, namely two kilograms of a foodstuff which are in short supply. Nevertheless, even this so-called non-rationing system recognizes social upper classes which are supplied according to their needs. Considering that we are too ashamed to acknowledge the restrictions of supplies, you can easily leave your working place for a few hours in the middle of the day and join the line in front of the food store. However, there is a large category of citizens who, thanks to their good connections, may purchase half a sack through the backdoor.

The triple effect may be even multiplied. Let us mention a few more effects! The man who is already carrying a voucher in his pocket exclaims: Should I believe my own eyes, or the minister? Those who live in the voucherless areas say: Is the restriction not the same as a rationing system? All those who depend on the stores, however, are convinced, like me, that this is a policy of burying heads in the sand, and not even a very clever one.

Although we are still not informed in detail about the misery of our state and about the extent of our economic crisis, the majority of our people are shrewd enough to foresee that life will by no means be easier tomorrow. Having gone through the painful experience of watching someone on the screen who reassures us that there will be no price increase, that Chernobyl has not affected us, that there will be enough coffee, and that gasoline prices will not go up....we no longer believe in such promises! Our distrust particularly applies to statements which are in drastic contradiction with the realities of our everyday life and with evident facts.

It would be more honest and more topical to provide us with more exact information. This also applies to admitting the existence of the rationing system, as unpopular as it may be. Thus, tea will be equally bitter for all of us, at least.

Ex-King Simeon's London News Conference Reported

AU2606071690 Sofia BTA in English
2046 GMT 25 Jun 90

["Simeon II: 'Bulgaria Opted For Democracy'"—BTA headline]

[Text] London, 25 Jun (BTA correspondent)—"I am proud that so much has been achieved in Bulgaria over the last seven or eight months without any violence whatsoever. This fact speaks for itself about the Bulgarians. It is a fact that Bulgaria chose the road of democracy, but this also means that great restraint is needed," the former Bulgarian Tsar Simeon II told British and foreign reporters at a news conference here. Over the next few days he will meet here representatives of semi-official institutes, of the academic circles working on East European affairs and of the British business interests.

Answering a question of this correspondent, he observed that many Bulgarians have voiced to him their concern over the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] victory as closing Bulgaria's road to Europe. "I find this sort of situation alarming," Simeon of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha said. "I think that in order to allay such fears, the future government of the country should give as clear signal as possible to the business circles in Europe that the process of economic reform will not stop, that the overall economic liberalization will continue. If it is not convincingly demonstrated that the reforms will go on, this will definitely cause an economic delay," he pointed out.

The ex-monarch is concerned over the desire of some highly educated people to leave the country right now when party membership probably does not mean what it meant before, when people have scope to show their skills, when they have greater opportunities due to the expanding contacts with the west. "I would like to reiterate that it is very important to realize the danger of the brain drain. Bulgaria has plenty of highly skilled personnel, a fantastic human potential, and something should be done to encourage those people to stay."

Simeon II said that before the elections he had called on the supporters of the parliamentary movement for the Turnovo Constitution to vote for the candidates of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) "so that the opposition should not be fragmented". He went on to say that the Muslims in Bulgaria saw in the Movement for Rights and Freedoms an organization with which they can identify their interests and that is why they supported the movement. "What matters are not the rights of one group but of all citizens," he emphasized.

The former Tsar expressed the conviction that Bulgaria is on the road to becoming a democratic state.

Answering a question of the ANATOLIAN NEWS AGENCY, the guest said that Bulgaria and Turkey have common interests and should live like good neighbors. "I

believe that now there are more religious freedoms and that the religious element will be playing a growing role in Bulgaria," he stressed.

He said he would like to revisit the country after more than 44 years away but he must first make a correct assessment of the situation before taking such a step. The matter has to be handled carefully due to a variety of political and historical circumstances, and it can wait for a couple of years if necessary. He believes that monarchy fits in modern politics but he does not see himself as a participant in any political campaign. "It would be pretentious on my part to place my personality at the center of any solution to the problems of Bulgaria," he indicated.

At one point of the press conference Simeon of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha spoke in Bulgarian. He made it clear that he was actively interested in the newly established London-based Bank for Reconstruction and Development of Eastern Europe which falls within his business interests.

'Negative' Attitude Toward Army Noted, Lamented

AU2606104390 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 22 Jun 90 pp 1,3

[Colonel Veselin Stoyanov article: "And I Ask Myself Why...."]

[Text] For many years the press, radio, and television dealt with the Bulgarian People's Army in a positive and romantic manner, a way that was pleasing to the eye, ear, and soul, without looking closely into the problems of the military.

Several months ago the mass media's attitude toward the Bulgarian People's Army changed. In many cases it became negative, again without the necessary careful and comprehensive analysis of the basic problems.

Instinctively I ask myself what are the reasons for this metamorphosis, where, why, and how has the Army gone wrong. Was it really held in high esteem by the Bulgarian citizens over the past decades, and what is the reason for the recent attacks and venom?

Perhaps the reason lies in the general upsurge of glasnost in the Army, which found many commanders and staffs unprepared? Many things that for many years had been considered secret suddenly became open and accessible for discussion. Thanks to this accessibility not only the citizens but also the Army itself learned interesting things about itself. Many shortcomings which during the official meetings and periodic and annual conferences were described as untypical, isolated, and partial, now appear to be a widespread and painful phenomenon....

The image of the "hat full of money" and the material and everyday prosperity of the officers established itself in the minds of the people, whereas in fact many of them, especially the young officers, are living on the border of

the minimum existence, pay outrageous rents to enterprising nouveaux riches, and are happy if their spouses find work on the basis of Article 68 of the Labor Code.

The journalists of NARODNA ARMIYA are aware of this situation and over the years have repeatedly tried to illuminate this and other acute issues related to military discipline and the legal and social security of the military. The final results of many creative initiatives that have been implemented, as well as those which remained unimplemented, are already a public secret. Many editorial boards could be proud of these initiatives and add them to their antitotalitarian credit.

Some publications concentrated so much on exposing existing and imaginary shortcomings of the Bulgarian People's Army that they really overdid it. There are so few articles that deal with the positive aspects of army life that in the present complex and polarized atmosphere, they are viewed as a breath of fresh air in a stuffy room.

At the same time the thoughts, considerations, and categorical opinions of self-proclaimed military experts, published in thousands of copies, are disseminated as authoritative opinions of specialists, who are familiar with military life. I have the impression that some sort of prestige competition, in which everyone tries to draw a more negative cartoon of the commanders and especially the officers in charge of educational work, has developed between such people and professional journalists who have recently been showing an increased interest in the subject of the military. The greater and uglier the insult, the better! I cannot understand how such a clearly negative approach could contribute to the so much needed unity of the people and the Army, to increasing the high combat morale of the soldiers, and to the moral, psychological, training of the youth to prepare them to fulfill their filial duty to the motherland.

Nothing could be further from my mind than to suggest to anyone that they develop a placatory-romantic attitude toward the Army. However, I categorically maintain that military service has been, is, and will continue for a long time to be an honorable duty of every Bulgarian citizen and true patriot.

While looking back on many things in our past through different eyes, let us always remember that the impression about the total well-being in the army was created partly and at the expense of consciously glossing over the truth about its real problems, not to deplete even more the constantly deteriorating national wealth and upset the difficult, but nevertheless creative life of the citizens.

Therefore, not only I, myself, but also thousands of officers, almost the entire military, enthusiastically greeted the upsurge of glasnost in army life. There was hope that society would help us resolve our most acute problems. Really, some of them were skillfully identified and put forward for discussion. However, now I have the feeling that the interest shown in army life is somehow being abused, deformed, and affected by centrifugal ambitions. From all directions privately motivated

reproaches and attacks are directed at the Bulgarian People's Army. It would have been wonderful if they all were aimed at removing the shortcomings. However, why do the military "experts" of some publications evade the great and obvious problems?

In Sofia and other garrisons hundreds of officers and sergeants do not have apartments and the authorities still have not done what is necessary. I suggest to my colleagues from the Sofia newspapers and the local press that they investigate this unpleasant, I would even say, dramatic social collision, which is not secret, and which in any event is more accessible than the specific subject of the transition to a professional army. This transition is hardly a task of the present or the near future. Let us give parliament, the new government, the Ministry of National Defense, and other officials familiar with the real military-political situation and our economic and financial possibilities an opportunity to address themselves to the problems of military reform, and afterwards, under conditions of glasnost, we shall discuss whether their proposals are purposeful or not. Hastily adopting responsible and expensive decisions is a risky venture.

Presidency Assails DEMOKRATSIYA Reporting

*AU2606182790 Sofia BTA in English
1725 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Text] Sofia, 26 Jun (BTA)—The Office of the President said that more respect for the truth, more ethics and integrity were needed when commenting on positions of the head of state and on views which his spokesman shares with the press in reply to their questions.

The remarks were occasioned by today's DEMOKRATSIYA, which took the liberty of wording the president's position on a sensitive matter like the ethnic issue.

"We take the opportunity to note that, much to our chagrin, this is not the first case in which, deliberately or otherwise, statements of the presidency spokesmen and of the head of state himself have been misrepresented. Words are quoted out of context, phrases are rearranged, and entire texts appear in the wrong political tone," the remarks say.

The Office of the President cites one such case: the "abridged version" which the June 20, 1990, DEMOKRATSIYA ran of President Petur Mladenov's speech in connection with the official declaration of the election results.

Deteriorating Trade With Turkey Discussed

*AU2606131790 Sofia BTA in English
1121 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Text] Sofia, 26 Jun (BTA)—At a press conference after the voicing of the election results Ahmed Dogan, the leader of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms said Bulgaria's way to Europe is covered by an Islamic carpet and will pass through the Bosphorus. Valentin Suykov comments this statement in TRUD.

He recalls that the Arab states are Bulgaria's traditional partner. Products of the Bulgarian machine building and foodstuffs industry are marketed there. They are almost the only customer of the Bulgarian engineering enterprises. During the 1983-1984 period Bulgaria's goods exchange with these countries was to the tune of 1.5-2 billion dollars and Bulgaria's export to this region was substantially larger than its import and met the deficit in the foreign balance with the West.

Last year goods exchange reduced to 600-700 million dollars. Credits which Bulgaria allotted to the Arab countries and whose maturity has expired, but they have not been covered, amount to 300-400 million dollars. Bulgaria's traditional partners: Syria, Libya, Iraq, Algeria, etc., are ready to buy all kinds of goods but on credit. The markets of the rich Arab states are glutted with all kinds of high quality goods and the only goods by which Bulgaria can make a breakthrough are the foodstuffs. Besides the rich Arab monarchies usually invested abroad but not in industrial projects but in banking, securities, real-estate property. According to the author talks are being held now for capital investments in Bulgaria by Saudi Arabia.

Goods exchange between Bulgaria and Turkey has reduced as a result of political tensions between them. In 1984 it amounted to 252 million dollars while in 1989 it was 33 million dollars while so far this year it is merely 4 million dollars. In the beginning of this year Turkey introduced a strongly liberalized imports regime for all countries, but Bulgaria and Cyprus have tacitly been excluded from this regime. All joint Bulgaro-Turkish protocols for trade cooperation, Valentin Suykov recalls, have clauses for joint participation on third markets, which have remained only on paper. Instead the Bulgarian foreign trade workers have had many examples of unlawful competition on the part of Turkey. Bulgarian and Turkish companies interfered in the competition of the engineering activity, foodstuffs trade, car transport.

Slovak National Council Elects Officials

Miklosko Elected Chairman

LD2606134890 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak
1000 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Correspondent (Michal Tvarozek) telephone report from the Slovak National Council session]

[Text] A short while ago the applause ended and the place of the chairman of the Slovak National Council Rudolf Shuster was taken by the new chairman of the Slovak National Council. He is Dr Frantisek Miklosko; 135 deputies voted for him, seven were against.

Miklosko's Biography Given

LD2606133990 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
1000 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Correspondents (Magda Pospisilova) and (Michal Tvarozek) report from the Slovak National Council in Bratislava]

[Excerpts] (Tvarozek) Shortly after 1000 the first constituent session of the Slovak National Council opened. Deputies were sworn in about 30 minutes ago by Rudolf Shuster, until now the chairman of the Slovak National Council. [passage omitted]

The most interesting item on today's agenda no doubt will be the upcoming election of the new chairman of the Slovak National Council—item number nine on the agenda—this will come up at about 1200 to 1300. But we can tell you about the proposal put forward by political movements and parties for the post of the chairman of the Slovak National Council:

[Pospisilova] He is Dr Frantisek Miklosko. He was born on 2 June 1947 in Nitra. He completed his studies of mathematics at the Faculty of Natural Sciences of the Komensky University in Bratislava in 1971. Until 1983 he worked in the Institute of Technical Cybernetics of the Slovak Academy of Sciences as a researcher. He later worked as a laborer in various places. He is presently a member of the Public Against Violence Coordinating Center. Since March 1990 he has been a deputy and later also a member of the Slovak National Council Presidium. In the June election he was re-elected as deputy for the political movement Public Against Violence for Bratislava. [passage omitted]

Deputy Chairmen Elected

LD2606210990 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak
1630 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Report on the constituent session of the Slovak National Council by editors Michael Tvarozek and Magda Pospisilova]

[Text] Esteemed listeners, you have been already told by editor Alica Bielikova that deputies elected Frantisek Miklosko as chairman of the Slovak National Council.

Ivan Carnogursky, from the Christian Democratic Movement, was elected first deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council.

We still have to tell you that the deputy chairmen of the Slovak national council—besides the first deputy chairman—the already mentioned Ivan Carnogursky for the Christian Democratic Movement—are: Milan Zemko, Laszlo Nagy—both deputies for the Public Against Violence; Jan Klepac for the Christian Democratic Movement; and Olga Keltosova for the Democratic Party.

New Slovak Cabinet Named

LD2706113990

[Editorial Report] Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak at 1000 GMT on 27 June carries a 5-minute recorded report by correspondent Magda Pospisilova from Bratislava Castle on the proceeding of the Slovak National Council session held on 27 June.

The report notes that at the session Mikulas Huba, member of the Slovak National Council Presidium, read out the names of the members in the new Slovak Government as follows:

Vladimir Meciar, premier of the Slovak Republic;

Jan Carnogursky, first deputy premier;

Jozef Kucarak, deputy premier;

Vladimir Ondrus, deputy premier;

Gabor Zaszlos, deputy premier;

Anton Andras, minister in charge of the Ministry of Interior;

(Jozef Belsak), minister in charge of the Ministry of Construction and Building Industry;

(Jozef Dubnicek), minister in charge of the Ministry of Economy;

(Michal Zatko), minister in charge of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food;

(Rudolf Filkus), minister in charge of the Ministry of Planning;

(Jan Holcik), minister in charge of the Ministry of Industry;

(Augustin Marian Husko), minister, chairman of the Office for Privatizations and Administration of the National Property;

(Martin Hvozdk) minister, chairman of the People's Committee of the Slovak Republic;

(Josef Chren), minister in charge of the Ministry of Trade and Tourism;

Ivan Knazko, minister without portfolio;

Ladislav Kosta, minister in charge of the Ministry of Justice;

Ladislav Kovac, minister in charge of the Ministry of Education, Science, Youth and Sport;

Michal Kovac, minister in charge of the Ministry of Finance, Prices and Wages;

(Stanislav Novak), minister in charge of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs;

Viliam Oberhauser, minister in charge of forestry and water conservancy;

(Alois Rakus), minister in charge of the Ministry of Health;

Ladislav Snopko, minister in charge of the Ministry of Culture;

(Ivan Pirpak), minister, chairman of the Commission for the Environment of the Slovak Republic;

Pospisilova notes "According to the constitutional bill on the Czechoslovak Federation, members of the Government of the Slovak Republic are being sworn in by the chairman of the Slovak National Council." The text of the oath is then read out.

Battek Elected Chamber of People Chairman

*LD2706130390 Prague CTK in English 1219 GMT
27 Jun 90*

[Text] Prague June 26 (CTK)—Rudolf Battek, deputy for the Civic Forum, was elected chairman of the House of the People of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) here today.

Of the 134 voting papers distributed, 115 were cast. 110 of them were for Rudolf Battek.

Battek on Chambers' Tasks

*LD2706132490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1207 GMT 27 Jun 90*

[Interview with Rudolf Battek, chairman of the Chamber of People of the CSFR Federal Assembly, by Vaclav Klement in Prague on 27 June—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Klement] Deputies elected Rudolf Battek, put forward by the Civic Forum, to head the Chamber of People. In your opinion, how should the new composition of the Chamber of the People work?

[Battek] My reply to this will be very short. The basic prerequisite for good work by the chamber is to achieve a consensus on every issue being discussed. I am a consultative type of a political individual who will assert this goal always and in everything if it is at all possible, so that the chamber can completely fulfil the responsibility it has toward the society if possible. This may seem to be a somewhat idealistic concept but if one should

take on the post and start the work with some kind of depression, expecting problems, then the beginning would be (?the end).

[Klement] You have only a month left before the parliamentary holiday. What do you have to do in this short time?

[Battek] You have somewhat surprised me by this question but it is envisioned that approximately until 22 July when we should end the deliberations in the Federal Assembly and in the chamber, approval is envisaged of some basic legal norms which should really be approved before the session resumes after the parliamentary holiday. I am sorry but I cannot tell you what specific norms these will be, but naturally you will learn this as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

Buresova Elected Czech National Council Chairman

*LD2606142590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1330 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Correspondent Roman Zamboch report from the Czech National Council session in Prague—live]

[Excerpts] Good afternoon! For the last hour or so, since 1430, the first and constituent session of the Czech National Council has been chaired by Dagmar Buresova, minister of justice in the government of Petr Pithart, who ends her term in office this week, and who is at the same time deputy for the Civic Forum for North Moravia. She was elected in a secret ballot here today to the post of chairman of the Czech National Council. Thus, congratulations! In a short speech immediately after her election, she singled out the creation of a new republican constitution, the solution of self-administration for towns and villages, and the status of Moravia and Silesia as the main aims of the two-year term of this representative body. She proposed as an important task the creation of a new attitude towards the Czech Government based on a closer cooperation in the drafting of fundamental governmental documents.

More secret ballots are now being prepared: representatives of individual deputies clubs have put forward candidates for posts of deputy chairmen of the Czech National Council. For the Christian and Democratic Union: Jan Kasal from Zdar nad Sazavou; for the Movement for Self-Administered Democracy of the Society for Moravia and Silesia: Zdenek Malik from Znojmo; for the Communist Party: Michal Kraus, who has come to the Czech National Council from Lanskroun; and for the Civic Forum: Vaclav Zak who represents Prague. [passage omitted]

You will learn more details about the work of this representative body on the radio news.

Czech Republic Government To Resign

LD2606202590 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
2000 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] The government of the Czech Republic met in Prague tonight. It entrusted its chairman to announce to the presidium of the Czech National Council its decision to resign according to the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation.

Havel Praises Government Officials Efforts

LD2506204190 Prague CTK in English 2012 GMT
25 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 25 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today expressed gratitude to the national understanding government which resigns on June 27, 1990 and will be replaced by a new government appearing as a result of the recent free parliamentary elections.

He told the members of the Federal Government, with Premier Marian Calfa at the head, that this government ruled in one of the hardest and most complicated periods of Czecho-Slovakia's modern history with the aim to start a great process of transformation of the totalitarian system into a sort of new-born democracy. In his opinion, this government deserved deep acknowledgement.

Speaking at a dinner at Kolodeje Castle near here, he said the National Understanding Government had started returning Czechoslovakia to the international arena and had made the first step on a long and difficult path of a radical reform of the country's economy. It was this government that had taken part in the preparations of the free elections for which the Czechoslovak people had waited such a long time, President Havel said.

He stated about the new government that it would have substantially fewer members and would thus herald a new structure of the federal bodies.

Vaclav Havel said he believed that those not included in the new government would not leave it with bitterness. After all they will not be forgotten, they will undoubtedly hold other significant positions and will continue to participate in the construction of the Czechoslovak state, he said.

Before the dinner at Kolodeje Castle, President Havel told CTK that the new federal government would be named in two days and within another two days its new expected structure would be explained, concerning the filling of positions etc.

Referring to the atmosphere in which the new government was being set up, Vaclav Havel said "it had been rather dramatic in the beginning, then it calmed down and in the end in Bratislava it was very calm and creative—everybody realized common responsibility. All of us were somewhat nicely surprised by a relatively smooth course of the deliberations", he stated.

Havel at Government's Final Press Briefing

LD2506135390 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
1220 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] [Announcer] Journalists met today at a further briefing in Prague Castle with Michael Zantovsky, press spokesman of the president of the Republic. This was the last meeting before the presidential elections. Stanislav Benda will tell you more now:

[Benda] The beginning of today's briefing was surely rather surprising for all journalists. Mr. Zantovsky opened it by saying: I welcome here, as a surprise, my boss who has come here to this last briefing to check on me. Thus we unexpectedly welcome among ourselves Vaclav Havel, president of the Republic.

The opening report given by Mr. Zantovsky was a kind of summary, or if you like, an account of the work of the presidential office for the period from 1 January to date. The report was very detailed, and I will select just a few facts from it.

The president has made 21 trips to various places in the CSFR. He has visited 44 towns, attended 34 rallies, made more than 50 speeches, including 10 important ones. He has made eight foreign trips to 12 countries. His advisers and secretaries have been working on average 14 to 15 hours a day, and in the entire six months they have had only seven days off. They have received 50,000 letters. I could go on for a long time because the list itself took longer than 10 minutes to read.

The president of the republic could, of course, spare only a short time with us journalists, and thus we took the opportunity to ask him a few questions. We learned that in those six months Vaclav Havel has written nothing as a playwright. The only things which he has been able to write, due to shortage of time, were his more important speeches. Asked whether the account presented by his press secretary is complete, Vaclav Havel told us:

[Begin Havel recording in Czech] In that account, there is not and cannot be, of course, the entire sphere of what I would call, rather metaphorically, government as such. By this I mean the countless number of various political deliberations, both official or more intimate, or the study of various backdrops, and so on and so forth. This is not and cannot be included in the account. [end recording]

[Benda] The president also reacted to the question of whether, having given the government top marks, he marks as highly the ministers responsible for the economy, although the results of their work have not appeared quickly enough. Here is his answer:

[Begin Havel recording in Czech] I would like to say that I have not been awarding any marks to the government. I have only said on several occasions that, taking into account the dramatic circumstances in which the government was born and taking into account the dramatic time in which it had to work, its work deserves recognition and respect. This includes also ministers responsible

for the economy. Of course, those ministers have held different views on various steps of our economic reform. One cannot be surprised at this at all because it is a task which has almost no precedent, there is no tested recipe for it, and naturally there can be various views on the matter. Nevertheless, the government has managed relatively quickly to reach a certain consensus and to implement it. The government has proposed a countless number of initiatives for legislation to the parliament.

As regards the foreign trips of ministers, their result cannot indeed be measured immediately. It can be a long-term one and the effect of those visits will be visible only after some time. [end recording]

[Announcer] Then Vaclav Havel took his leave and thanked journalists for their work. They then concentrated on Mr Zantovsky. Out of more than 30 minutes' discussion I chose the question which you probably wanted to ask him too: How well is the president informed? Might it not happen that his information is one-sided and that he hears from his advisers only what he wants to hear? Mr Zantovsky said:

[Begin Zantovsky recording in Czech] This is naturally not a short-term problem. It is a continuous problem which every government official must solve for himself. The president naturally reads the daily press, watches Czechoslovak television, receives a summary of main news from CTK and a number of other monitors. We do an analysis of his post, and we inform him mainly about critical comments in the letters rather than about the praise. To reinforce the feedback, you might have noticed that about three weeks ago the president appealed in his "Talks from Lany" to citizens to write to him about their comments, proposals, and complaints. This is an independent project which is being analyzed at present by quantitative and qualitative methods.

Finally, in cooperation with public opinion research unit we initiate research directly into issues related to the role of the president and the work of the office of the President of the Republic, and so on. [end recording]

[Benda] So it does not seem that there is a risk of our president being informed one-sidedly. Moreover, our president is certainly not a man who would let himself being misinformed from any side.

Havel Discusses Current Problems

AU2506105090 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 19 Jun 90 p 2

["Excerpts" of Czechoslovak Radio interview with President Vaclav Havel broadcast on 17 June: "Conversation from Lany"]

[Text] The talks about the next government are not at all easy. I made no mistake when I said on many occasions that this will be my most difficult political test and it will also reveal whether I am capable of accepting the presidential candidacy—whether I have the right to be president at all.

The talks are very difficult—more difficult than I thought them to be—but this does not mean that they are unsuccessful or that they have collapsed. We are gradually working toward a certain result which I should be able to responsibly stand by and which should reflect the election results.... The government will have to become a working team and will have to meet many specifications and parameters, since it will play a very important role in the upcoming 24-month period. Later, in the stabilized situation, executive power will probably not play such an important role—relations between the legislative and executive organs will be correctly balanced. But for now it seems that much will depend on the government. How much support the government will get from parliament will depend on how fast and how resolutely it works. This week has been one of the most difficult weeks of my presidency, if not the most difficult one of all.

The collapse of the totalitarian system and the search for a way toward democracy is something new in history. It is something that is without precedent and there is nobody who could foresee what would happen next, everything that could happen next. Marxists believed that they understood the law by which history is governed and that they were able to make predictions—they were surprised every time something went against their predictions, but they were always able to prove—ex post facto—why it happened contrary to their predictions—I am not a Marxist, nor am I under the illusion that science can understand history and that it can predict its course.

This whole situation surrounding the vetting—which is dragging on and which is entangling in various ways—is something that no one expected and no one wanted. In my opinion, it is something that should end finally. This entire situation is an unhappy one and is, in fact, a strange one.

Of course, the citizens' desire to be certain that their newly elected representatives are people with a clean moral profile is quite legitimate and justified. It is an understandable and comprehensible aspiration, it is a legitimate aspiration. At the same time, it has come to light that a number of well meant but ill implemented plans and intentions play a role in this due to innumerable bad traits in people's characters or latent inclinations which have now been given the opportunity to become apparent. Of course, in addition, machinations which have been plotted also play a role in this. The fact that no outsider really understood the State Security mechanism plays another important role—these mechanisms are being discovered gradually. Every day we are learning new things which no one knew.... It is very sad that this happened and the only thing which can comfort us is that no violence took place, that we did not have a civil war, and that the elections have not been questioned. The elections were really free. There is a general consensus about this. The fantastic 96% participation in the elections is something without precedent throughout the world. This testifies to our civic culture which lay dormant within our people without them being aware of it. All this is remarkable. Irrespective of all the confusion

which is happening, we have a chance to become an oasis of stability in this stormy part of Europe.

Many years ago I pondered whether I was an optimist or pessimist. I found out that I was neither. Who is an optimist? An optimist is someone who is certain that everything will turn out well. On the contrary, a pessimist is someone who believes that everything will turn out badly. I do not know how this will turn out. That is why I am neither an optimist nor a pessimist. I am someone who believes, however. For me belief is a spiritual state, it is not a result of some prognostic analyses, research, and thinking. Simply, it seems to me that it is possible to live only when we see that our life has some meaning and that our life can have a meaning only when we have faith—a faith as a spiritual state. I have carried my faith throughout my life. If I did not have it, I would have to hang myself. I would have to do it even now, while being the president who is paid for his function, since I cannot imagine that someone could be in a high government position without believing that everything will turn out well. To be a pessimist thinking that everything will turn out badly and—despite this—to stay in office would be contradictory; it would be nonsense. The fact that I remain in my office, at least for the time being, testifies to the fact that I am convinced that everything will turn out well and that I must do everything possible within my limited powers to make it turn out well.

Interior Minister Accused of Not Cooperating

LD2406170790 Prague CTK in English 1549 GMT
24 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 24 (CTK)—“We have been striving in vain to cooperate with you for quite a long time. Despite all efforts you evidently reject any initiative from our side,” said a letter of the central civic commission of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, civic commission of the Czech Ministry of the Interior and environment and regional civic commissions sent to Federal Minister of the Interior Richard Sacher today.

(The 11-member civic commissions which were to investigate the activities of some 6,000 former members of the secret police STB started their work in February 1990. They have been working together with four-member screening commissions -ed.)

The text of the letter was handed over to CTK by chairman of the central civic commission Jaroslav Hlavka.

“For the discussions on May 18, 1990 you have invited representatives of the regional civic commissions but not representatives of the central civic commission. You promised to convene within a week a joint meeting of all ministers of the interior and representatives of the civic commissions. You have not fulfilled this promise,” the letter said.

Chairmen of the regional civic commissions of Czechoslovakia and representatives of the central civic commissions of the federal and Czech ministries of the interior met on June 22, 1990. They expressed dissatisfaction

with your approach to cooperation with the civic commissions and indignation over the fact that the status of the civic commissions was allegedly worked out during the discussions of the Ministers on June 15-16, 1990 but has never been handed over to the civic commissions. Even your deputy Jan Ruml, entrusted with cooperation with the civic commissions, has not been informed of it.

The letter asked the minister of the interior to delay possible official publication of the status of the civic commissions to enable them to voice their opinions on its contents. “If you don’t accept our justified demand we will have to ask the Czechoslovak premier and the Defence and Security Committee of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly for remedy,” it added.

Bohemia, Moravia Party Congress Set for 13 Oct

AU2206211790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Jun 90 pp 1, 2

[Vaclav Pergl report: “The First Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia Congress Has Been Convened”]

[Excerpts] Prague (From our own correspondent)—The First Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM] Congress has been called for 13 October 1990. A decision was made about this at Saturday’s [16 June] KSCM Central Committee session. At the same time, the Central Committee stipulated that one delegate with a decisive vote per 1,000 members should be elected to the congress with the proviso that at least four delegates be elected from each district.

The KSCM Central Committee also recommended the district committees to convene a district conference by 7 October at the latest. It recommended that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee should carry out an internal party referendum on the CPCZ’s name and symbols. These are the most important conclusions from the third KSCM Central Committee session. [passage omitted]

Let Us Not Succumb to Euphoria Following the Elections

The discussion mostly “centered” around four main points: the elections, transforming the party and its name, convening the congress, and RUDE PRAVO.

For example, Zdenek Vorlicek (Prague) said apropos of the first point that the elections have confirmed the CPCZ’s justification for continuing to participate in political life. Nothing more. Now it is up to us to pay interest on this trust. Some participants criticized the method of compiling the list of candidates.

Approximately 20 participants aired their views on whether or not a KSCM congress should be convened. The majority were in favor; some participants suggested a conference or a joint consultative meeting involving the CPCZ District Committee Presidiums and a KSCM Central Committee plenum.

Approximately the same number of participants spoke about the insufficient supplies of RUDE PRAVO available. They appreciated the newspaper's serious nature and called for greater publicity to be given to all idea streams in the party. Some participants proposed introducing a column where deputies could air their views on issues under discussion in parliament; others—in connection with its distribution—recommended home delivery of RUDE PRAVO organized through CPCZ District Committees and posting copies of the newspaper in places where a lot of people assemble. There was also a proposal which called for the construction of a new publishing house to serve the interests of the left wing. [passage omitted]

"We Will Not Have Any Objections...."

Vasil Mohorita, CPCZ Central Committee first secretary, also spoke at the session. "In order for us to become a truly left-wing party, we will require some courage and we will have to state clearly what it is necessary to do to achieve this." In reply to a question about what he discussed with the president, he replied that he did not only meet with him, but he also met with the chairman of the Federal Assembly, with the premier, and with leading officials from the Social Democratic Party. A lot of further discussions are also under preparation as is usual following elections. "There is a great deal of discussion about how the elections turned out and about what they mean for the future. The possibility of involving communists in the work of the new governments is also being discussed. These are the first, noncommittal talks. Everyone has stated that they will not enter into a coalition with the CPCZ. However, we will not have any objections if one or two ministers enter the government as specialists without a mandate from the CPCZ".

The discussion came to an end after six hours. When voting on the resolution, the convention of the congress was the main issue voted for. Convening the congress on 13 October was approved by 48 votes to 27 votes.

Holds Steering Conference

LD2406050990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1700 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] A steering conference of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM], taking place in Prague today, discussed the identity of a modern left-wing party. The plurality of views, the endeavor to avoid confrontation, and the standard of theoretical thinking of the communists were commended at the conference by Professor Vojtech Mencl, chairman of the Senate of Obroda [Revival, a left-wing movement of reform-minded communists expelled from the Czechoslovak Communist Party in 1968-1970]

KSCM Democratic Platform Meets, Elects Leader

AU2606133290 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
21 Jun 90 p 2

["ZA"-signed report from the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone...." column]

[Text] The Prague Provisional Council of the Democratic Platform within the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM] constituted itself on Wednesday [20 June]. The Prague Club of Democratic Socialists, which is the primary organization of this platform, was set up at the same time. Jiri Frkal, deputy to the Czech National Council, was elected to head the coordinating council. The participants in the meeting endorsed the negative stand of the petition committee of left-wing parties and organization on the proposed strike law.

Popular Democratic Party Breaks With Republicans

AU2606092690 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech
23 Jun 90 P 2

[Unattributed report from the "From the Homeland" column: "They Distance Themselves"]

[Text] The Popular Democratic Party, which ran in the free elections in a coalition with the Association for the Republic—Republican Party of Czechoslovakia, has announced that it has severed all relations with the Association for the Republic and that it distances itself from all its declarations or the appeals made by Dr Sladek. The party has convened an extraordinary congress for 27 June. At this congress a new name, statutes, and program will be decided upon.

Party Representation in Government Bodies Noted

LD2506171290 Prague CTK in English 1435 GMT
25 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 25 (CTK)—Political movements and parties will be represented in the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly proportionally according to the June 8-9 elections outcome, (Civic Forum and Public Against Violence will have 59 per cent of the seats), Deputy Petr Kucera told newsmen today.

The elections of the presidiums of the House of the People, the House of Nations and of the Federal Assembly, and of the chairman of the parliamentary committees will be secret, the rest by show of hands. There will be eight committees in each house (previously nine or ten in the House of the People). Of the total of 16 chairman of the committees of both houses, seven will be Civic Forum members, four Public Against Violence members, two Communists, two Christian Democratic Movement members and one a member of the Movement for Autonomous Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia. Kucera said these were preliminary data but no major changes were expected.

The president is to be elected on July 5. The parliament is expected to discuss the program statement of the new government on June 29. The first joint meeting of the two houses will start on June 27.

People's Party Approves Role in Czech Government

AU2506143090 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE
in Czech 22 Jun 90 p 1

["LD"-signed report: "From a Session of the Czechoslovak People's Party Central Committee Presidium"]

[Text] At its 20 June session the Presidium of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] Central Committee discussed the present political situation and approved CSL representatives' entry into the Czech Republic Government. It discussed, furthermore, the representation of the CSL and of the Christian and Democratic Union at large in the Federal Assembly, its two chambers, and its committees as well as their analogous representation in the Czech National Council. It adopted measures aimed at securing economically the party's political work in the future and discussed some aspects of the work of the department for CSL companies and enterprises. It acknowledged with satisfaction the conclusion of an agreement on post-election cooperation with the Association of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs, which regards the CSL's policy as an expression of its interests.

Social Democrats, Independent Left Party Merge

AU2506125490 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
22 Jun 90 p 2

[CTK report from the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone...." column]

[Text] The leaderships of the Czechoslovak Social Democracy and the Independent Left party have agreed on the formation of a strong party of the democratic left in the form of the Czechoslovak Social Democracy.

Slovak Liberal Union Founded

LD2306144690 Prague CTK in English 1423 GMT
23 Jun 90

[Text] Bratislava June 23 (CTK)—The Liberal Democratic Party in Slovakia, the Party of Independent Democrats and the Party of Free Democrats founded here today the Liberal Union.

The aim of the union is to associate parties of liberal centre and enable them to cooperate.

The Liberal Union will be the Slovak partner of the Liberal Democratic Party in Bohemia which has emerged these days from the former Czechoslovak democratic initiative after the withdrawal from the Civic Forum. They should be admitted—as observers for the time being—to the International Association of Liberal Parties of the whole world—the Liberal International.

Slovak Journalists' Declaration

AU2606163590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 22 Jun 90 p 1

[CTK report: "Contrary to the Law"]

[Text] The Slovak Syndicate of Journalists, just like the Czech Republic Syndicate of Journalists, is anxiously observing the attempts being made by some political forces to limit truthful, precise, and complete information being provided to the public.

The right and obligation to provide undistorted information ensues from the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of expression, speech, and press. The Slovak Syndicate of Journalist therefore considers all the attempts to limit the availability of information—irrespective of its carriers—as activities contradictory to the Czechoslovak rule of law and contradictory to the mass media's mission in a democratic state. The Slovak Syndicate of Journalists fully backs all the journalists and editorial staffs throughout the CSFR who are being placed under pressure by some political parties, or persons representing those parties.

In our endeavor, we fully endorse the June 1990 declaration made by the Czech Republic Syndicate of Journalists, since we realize that preventing particular instances of totalitarianism and contributing to a healthy democratic development is possible mainly through the availability of open and truthful information. We consider its defense to be our principal moral duty and, in this sense, we are adopting an identical standpoint to all the democratic forces in our society.

Slovak TU's Criticize Federal Trade Bodies

AU2206174290

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 16 June on page 4 carries a 1,400-word interview with Roman Kovac, chairman of the Confederation of Trade Unions in the Slovak Republic, by Dagmar Kristoficova entitled "We Need Strong Trade Unions." On 19 June, on page 1, NARODNA OBRODA carries a 400-word report by Dagmar Kristoficova, entitled "Opposition to the Strike Law," on an "extraordinary session" of the Assembly of the Confederation of Trade Unions in the Slovak Republic, held in Bratislava on 18 June.

The interview with Kovac, the place and date of which are not given, deals with the role of trade unions in the transition toward a market economy. Kovac is also asked about his opinion regarding the activities of the Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions, CSKOS, of which the Slovak Confederation is part. He says: "Initially, we pinned great hopes on the CSKOS. However, it has turned out to be an organization which does not adequately meet our expectations. Because of the inconsistent activity of trade union bodies, misunderstandings have come about between the government and the trade unions and some of the newly passed laws are disadvantageous for the trade unions."

"The problem of asymmetry in the CSKOS structure has still not been resolved. Moreover, the authoritarian bearing of the CSKOS as the sole representative of trade unions in Czechoslovakia makes it difficult for individual trade unions which do not want to be organized in the CSKOS to deal with trade union problems.

"This criticism is also directed into our own ranks because the chairman and the deputy chairmen of the Slovak Confederation are also represented in the Presidium of the CSKOS General Council.

"The CSKOS statutes are still only assuming shape. Their nature will determine whether we will be able to come to an agreement or whether we will set up independent confederations. We support the efforts of the republics' governments aimed at the economic sovereignty of the republics. The power of decision making, in trade union matters, too, should therefore be logically transferred to republican bodies."

The NARODNA OBRODA report on the Assembly of the Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions notes that the session "adopted a statement on the centralistic and asymmetrical model and activity of the CSKOS." The report includes the following excerpt from this statement: "The Confederation of Trade Unions in the Slovak Republic regards itself as the representative of Slovak trade unions in the CSKOS on the principle of parity representation.

"Financial contributions to the activity of federal bodies are conditional on the consent of individual trade unions and individual trade unions will provide them through the Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions. The prerequisite, however, is the complete and just settlement of the financial claims of Slovak trade unionists."

According to the NARODNA OBRODA report, in their statement "Slovak trade unionists also demand, in harmony with the name of the republic, a change in the name of the federal confederation to the Czech and Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions." The federal confederation should, in their opinion, concern itself mainly with "legislative issues and a part of international relations."

Speaking about other items on the agenda of the session, Kristoficova mentions that it "unequivocally rejected" the draft law on strikes, which "does not conform with the present needs of economic development and is, in essence, directed against the trade unions and working people."

Komarek Opposes Monetarism for Economic Reform

LD2606154590 Prague CTK in English 1427 GMT
26 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 26 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek said today he did not believe in the viability of the monetarist path according to which changes in prices will be followed by changes in the behaviour of people.

Commenting on the development of the economic reform in Czechoslovakia, he told CTK he was afraid the

development would inevitably have the same negative consequences which can be seen in Poland. Not perhaps to the same extent or in the same forms but something similar because Czechoslovakia's concept of the reform is the same, Valtr Komarek said.

Maybe it is reasonable that the monetarist concept wins. Let a new government strive to put it in practice, the deputy premier stated and added that he, of course, would not assist in this because the concept is at variance with his experience.

Journalists Protest Crackdown on Romanian Press

LD2606204890 Prague CTK in English 1524 GMT
26 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 26 (CTK)—The Synicate of Journalists of the Czech Republic sent today a letter to the leadership of the permanent committee of the Association of Journalists of Romania protesting against violent acts aimed at liquidation of some Romanian papers.

The Czech journalists voiced embitterment over the efforts to liquidate the independent paper ROMANIA LIBERA, the press organ of the National Peasants' Christian Democratic party DREPPATEA, the press organ of the National Liberal Party VITORUL, the independent weekly BARICADA and the weekly 22, and attempts to intimidate the freedom of expression in the Romanian mass communication media.

"We are filled with deep indignation in connection with the brutality of 'organized' groups which destroyed the equipment of editorial offices and caused considerable damage to the publishers," the letter said.

The secretariat of the International Organization of Journalists [IOJ] sent today a letter to Romanian President Ion Iliescu, stressing in connection with the closure of the newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA and with the threat to close down some other papers that "the IOJ regards it a serious violation of the principles which the journalists of the world consider fundamental for their profession."

"We urge you on behalf of the 260,000 journalists in 120 countries to strictly adhere to your declared intentions of upholding democracy and respecting human rights," the letter of the IOJ secretariat stressed.

Hungarians Accused of Violating Trianon Treaty

AU2306182590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 18 Jun 90 p 3

[Statement by Engineer Samo B. Kusnierik, representative of the Movement for a New Slovakia Preparatory Committee: "Is the Trianon Treaty Invalid?"]

[Text] According to NARODNA OBRODA of 5 June, a demonstration on the streets of Budapest declared the Trianon Treaty on the territorial arrangement in former pre-1918 Hungary to be Hungary's greatest humiliation

and tragedy. At its session on 4 June 1990, the Hungarian Republic parliament marked the 70th anniversary of the signing of this treaty by holding a minute's silence.

The Trianon Treaty, signed on 4 June 1920, respected the nationality composition in pre-1918 Hungary and, based on this in harmony with the practices of international law and following up on the other peace treaties of the Versailles system, codified the annexation of Transylvania and Banat to Romania, of Croatia and Slovenia to Yugoslavia, and of the Burgenland to Austria. It made possible the separation of Slovakia and the Sub-Carpathian Ukraine from pre-1918 Hungary and their inclusion in Czechoslovakia. The Trianon Treaty rightly brought an end to Hungarian oppression of ethnic minorities in pre-1918 Hungary following the defeat of Austria-Hungary.

We consider casting aspersions on the Trianon Treaty by means of a demonstration to be an act of Hungarian expansionism directed at neighboring states, which expresses Hungary's endeavor to return to the situation when millions of members of the other nationalities living in pre-1918 Hungary suffered under Hungarian oppression.

It is impossible to let what happened at a parliamentary level go unnoticed. It is necessary to regard this not only as a new threat to Slovakia's integrity, and thus an attempt to cast doubts on the existing borders, but also as an attempt to interfere with the overall stability in Europe.

We emphatically protest against such conduct in the Hungarian Republic parliament and we demand that the CSFR and Slovak Republic Governments and parliaments convey this protest to the Hungarian Republic Government and parliament.

Ecological Damage by Soviet Troops Viewed

AU2606140790 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY
in Czech 22 Jun 90 p 2

[Interview with Vaclav Vucka, deputy minister of environment of the Czech Republic, by Jan Bauer on 21 June; place not given: "The Cost of Occupation"]

[Text] [Bauer] On Wednesday [20 June] Gennadiy Gerasimov, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, told a news conference in Moscow that Czechoslovak and Soviet experts' methods and criteria for assessing the ecological damage caused by the troops of the Central Group of Soviet Forces on the territory of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic differ.

Yesterday we asked Engineer Vaclav Vucka, deputy minister of environment of the Czech Republic and head of the Czechoslovak section of the joint Czechoslovak-Soviet [ecological] commission, to comment on Gerasimov's statement.

[Vucka] This statement is not completely accurate. To claim that diverse figures on the damage exist is inappropriate because neither side has such figures yet. Without hydrogeological research it is impossible to ascertain the amount of oil

products that has seeped into the ground, how the damage will be eliminated, and how long it will take. The Soviet side claims that the problems are far smaller than we see them. However, the very fact of the establishment of a joint ecological commission is positive. The Soviet side proposed the establishment of this commission under the negative impression of our own independent findings of March and April. At that time the Czech Water Economy Inspection Authority reached the conclusion that the damage, i.e. the estimated cost of cleaning up the underground water resources, would be between one and three billion korunas. I believe that it was precisely the fear of this sum which prompted the Soviet Army to propose the commission.

[Bauer] Who will cover these costs?

[Vucka] The agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops foresees that property issues will be resolved within two years after the conclusion of the agreement. In other words, we have 18 months to carry out the research, draft the necessary clean-up projects, and determine their cost.

South Korean Embassy Goes Into Operation

AU2606190000 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
21 Jun 90 p 2

["ZA"-signed report from the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] The Embassy of the Republic of Korea announced that it has started its activity in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. The embassy is headed by Choe Sung-ho, charge d'affaires ad interim. The embassy's provisional seat is Hotel Prague.

Exports to U.S. Expected To Increase

AU2606092290 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY
in Czech 22 Jun 90 p 3

[Interview with Engineer Jiri Skvara from the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade by Miroslav Jilek; place and date not given: "Shall We Succeed on the U.S. Market?"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Jilek] What will be the significance of the most-favored-nation status for Czechoslovak exporters?

[Skvara] It will create scope for increased exports of commodities which we have been exporting to the United States for years (machine tools, printing and textile machinery, tires, steel products, costume jewelry, glass, food products, shoes, textiles and ready-made garments, chemicals). For many Czechoslovak manufacturers the removal of restrictive customs duties will represent an encouragement to enter the U.S. market, the market with the greatest power of absorption in the world. To get an idea of the significance of the most-favored-nation status for Czechoslovak exporters it is necessary to mention a few figures: At the present volume of exports to the United States (\$102.9 million a year), the saving resulting from the cut in the import duty

will represent roughly \$18.5 million. So far, customs duties on Czechoslovak exports to the United States averaged about 35% but commodities where the customs duty amounted to 60% to 70% of the import price were no exception. It is to be expected that after the granting of most-favored-nation status the customs duty will average 10% to 15% of the import price and that our manufacturers will find the same conditions on the American market as their competitors from advanced industrial states.

According to our calculations, the newly established conditions in the United States could help increase Czechoslovak exports to the United States from the present approximately \$100 million to \$280- \$290 million within one to two years in the traditional commodities—those which we have been exporting already—alone. Estimating the increment in exports of commodities for which the U.S. market is only opening up, thanks to the most-favored-nation status, is extremely difficult. However, if we use as a premise the increase in the exporting capacity of Poland and Hungary after they were granted the most-favored-nation status, it is not unreasonable to expect, given the exporting capacity of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, that our exports to the United States will increase as much as five fold within the next three years. This estimate is warranted also by the recent devaluation of the Czechoslovak currency against the dollar, which should stimulate a greater number of Czechoslovak manufacturers to penetrate the U.S. market. If we consider, moreover, the expected development of industrial and trade cooperation between the two countries' companies, the establishment of joint ventures, etc., there is no reason why Czechoslovak exports to the United States should not exceed \$1 billion within 5 years. [passage omitted]

Bad Weather Hampers Rescue Team in Iran

LD2506102390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
0600 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] The headquarters of Czechoslovak aid for Iran, hit by the earthquake, announced last night that the Czechoslovak rescue team could not land in its target area owing to bad weather. It will try to land today. In the meantime trucks have been continued to transport material. The Iranian authorities have given our rescuers a visa for 10 days.

CSCE Delegation Head Hajek on Rule of Law, Racism

AU2006174090 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 16-17 Jun 90 p 4

[Interview with Jiri Hajek, head of the CSFR delegation to the Copenhagen CSCE conference, by Dr. Jochen Reinert; place and date not given: "Man Can Be Easily Forgotten on the Free Market"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Reinert] Do you think that the CSCE still holds out hopes today?

[Hajek] Yes, I think that people increasingly realize that the CSCE might provide a real framework for an effective pan-European policy. It can be clearly seen that the institutionalization of the CSCE process has found more advocates here than this was the case before. I think that the trilateral proposal of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the GDR is also very interesting. Its basis is the creation of joint organs, such as a council for security and cooperation, and two security centers.

[Reinert] In Czechoslovakia, a citizens movement inspired by the CSCE has now taken over the fortunes of the country. What does the new team in Prague want to contribute here in Copenhagen?

[Hajek] First there is the idea of perfecting the rule-of-law state, which was already advocated by our citizens movement when its adherents were still called dissidents. We always said: Human rights are the basis of the rule-of-law state, just like the free citizen is the basis of a democratic society. Therefore, we will support all initiatives that contribute to the rule of law. As regards the CSFR: Together with other members of the so-called "Pentagonal," we presented a detailed proposal on the protection of minorities in the CSCE countries. Other states took similar actions. And now we will try to combine the various related proposals somehow.

[Reinert] In fact, Europe increasingly seems to speak the same language regarding human rights. However, outside the conference rooms, new rough realities that violate human rights in a different way are beginning to show. For example, the foreign minister of your country mentioned anti-Semitism in the West and hostility toward foreigners in the East...

[Hajek] ... yes, these problems exist in various countries, however, at the same time these are problems of Europe. Nationalism, chauvinism, and even racism have come "to the surface" during the explosion of freedom. Formerly anti-Semitism or racism was simply forbidden and declared to be non-existing in our countries. However, if the plurality of thoughts is professed, such negative thoughts must also be considered, not in order to tolerate them, but to combat them with really effective means, not by prohibitions, but by thorough education and persuasion. However, where they exceed the limits of the proclamation, they should be treated as criminal offenses—of course, within the framework of the rule-of-law state.

[Reinert] Germany has a bad heritage as regards racism and chauvinism. From this point of view, how do you assess the fact that the two German states presented their first joint CSCE proposal precisely on this topic?

[Hajek] I think that it is very important that the Germans, the two German states, agreed to take action against these phenomena. You know, Germany's neighbors have certain doubts whether reunification will not arouse something that was connected with the unification after 1870 and then, of course, with the Third Reich. I think of a kind of superpower-nationalism, a kind of arrogance, or similar things. These are questions that the people ask themselves. And it is very important that the German side clearly denies this. This deserves to be supported by all. [passage omitted]

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: Reportage on German unification may also be found in the Federal Republic of Germany section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT and pertinent sections of the East Europe JPRS Report. Third country comment is published as available in the appropriate DAILY REPORT or JPRS publication.

Shevardnadze Cited on Schedule for German Unity
LD2706082190 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0230 GMT 27 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze favors a solution to the German question under international law before the end of the year. In an interview with ADN today he said the Soviet side is orienting itself toward "elaborating a final agreement that solves all aspects of German unity before the end of the year and plans to present it to the 35 CSCE states. With this we are emphasizing that every state has a say in this key problem."

According to Shevardnadze the NATO meeting in July could "strongly stimulate the process of overcoming the division of Germany and the division of our continent." The Soviet Union was "prepared to take radical steps in this respect." The character of the relations between the two military blocks would also have to change. It is conceivable a joint mechanism of the two alliances would be created, "a consultation council...to lead a dialogue on the 'architecture' of the future Europe."

Shevardnadze is convinced "a singularization of Germany would not be appropriate." He said "a line must be drawn through the past, the remaining restrictions of Germany's sovereignty must be removed, its new status must be determined, stable conditions for its cooperation with all, above all the European states must be established." A certain transition period is needed for this. "After all, the goal is to create optimum conditions for the construction of a European order of peace."

Meckel Sees Soviet Troops Staying 4-5 Years

AU2606115690 Hamburg BILD in German
26 Jun 90 pp 1, 4

["Exclusive" interview with Foreign Minister Markus Meckel by Peter Brinkmann; place and date not given: "Why Does the GDR Need New Ambassadors?"]

[Text] [Brinkmann] Why are you still appointing new ambassadors if the GDR is going to disappear in six months anyway?

[Meckel] Because new faces characterize the new political landscape. It is useful because through the new ambassadors we can shape our own specific relations.

[Brinkmann] Against Bonn?

[Meckel] No. The GDR has its own interests in the unification process. It is important to safeguard these interests. Otherwise, there would be no need for two-plus-four talks, only for one-plus-four talks.

[Brinkmann] How long will the Red Army remain in Germany?

[Meckel] Four to five years. It is important to have two CSCE meetings during this transition period to develop a new European security structure. We also need a transition period during which the Soviets can solve the social problems that arise in connection with troop withdrawal.

[Brinkmann] What problems, for example?

[Meckel] It is not possible at the moment for the 380,000 soldiers and their families to find accommodation and jobs in the Soviet Union.

[Brinkmann] How can the West generally help the Soviet Union?

[Meckel] It is important for the Soviet Union to be integrated in Europe, also economically. For this reason, I will support all effective measures for economic aid. This means that the Soviet Union needs help in its decision to introduce a market economy. This kind of help has not been provided so far.

[Brinkmann] What about political aid?

[Meckel] What is needed in this sphere is more determined support for parliamentary democracy. Stronger federative structures, more economic codetermination, more pluralism, and more parties are needed.

[Brinkmann] What about free elections?

[Meckel] I consider free elections essential.

[Brinkmann] What will you do once German unity is achieved?

[Meckel] I do not know yet. I may resume my duties as a priest, but I might also become a deputy to an all-German parliament.

Manfred Woerner Favors Strengthened NATO

LD2706140190 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1125 GMT 27 Jun 90

[Text] Cologne (ADN)—NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner backs a strengthening of the Western alliance and the EC. He explained in a pre-released interview with the economics magazine CAPITAL that this way an order of peace would be created that also left room for the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states.

Referring to the debate about disbanding NATO in view of East-West detente Woerner said that "the only two Models of functioning cooperation between states", the EC and NATO, could not be sacrificed. After all,

progress had to be made in Europe toward more interstate cooperation and there must not be a return to the old categories of national state security and thinking in terms of power politics.

The CSCE, which would still not have executive power after its intended institutionalization, could only supplement NATO, "but not replace it."

The western alliance, the secretary general assured, would develop from a product of confrontation into an element of cooperation and, for instance, the strategy of forward defense would be changed decisively in several points. Fewer soldiers and less weapons will be necessary in the future.

De Maiziere Doubts Prosecution of Honecker

LD2706023390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1952 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Vienna (ADN-correspondent)—GDR Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere is apparently expecting no prosecution of the former state and party leader, Honecker, over the acceptance of RAF [Red Army Faction] members in the GDR. In an interview in the Wednesday edition of the Vienna newspaper DIE PRESSE, he says Honecker's responsibility would "admittedly have to be the subject of investigation," but there is the question of "whether mere knowledge in itself constitutes a crime." Although one could "acquire blame through omitting to do what is required," the problem arises that the RAF activists were "admitted after their crimes." Thus there was only the offence of abetting, for which the statute of limitations might already apply.

On the treatment of former GDR spies, De Maiziere said that one "would have to investigate each case individually." At the same time he referred to "some gentlemen from other agencies who found something very interesting in the GDR." There would have to be talks about this on the principle "if you strike mine, I will strike yours."

De Maiziere Visits UK, Meets Officials

WA2706122190

For reportage on the visit by Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere to the United Kingdom, including reports on his talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and other leading politicians, please see the United Kingdom section of the 27 June West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

De Maiziere on EC, Two-Plus-Four Talks

AU2706134490 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 27 Jun 90 p 3

["Exclusive" interview with Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere by Otmar Lahodynsky at the site of the Dublin EEC Summit; date not given: "No Matter Who Has The Say In Moscow"]

[Text] [Lahodynsky] Mr. Prime Minister, some EC members are concerned about German unification. Many politicians think it is coming too fast. Mrs Thatcher, whom you will visit in London on Wednesday [27 June], has repeatedly warned about Germany as a dominant EC member. How do you intend to dispel such doubts?

[De Maiziere] I think such concerns are unfounded. As you know, in the EC, more and more sovereign rights are being transferred to supranational bodies in connection with the single market and the planned common currency. That would also be a way to counteract the process of singularization. In my view, Mrs. Thatcher's rejection of such common policies contradicts her concerns about Germany.

Both Germanys have surely demonstrated that they have learned the bitter lesson of their history—West Germany, by convincingly practicing democracy for 40 years, and East Germany, by successfully fighting for freedom and democracy in a peaceful and bloodless way.

We must face up to our history time and again. However, we also have the right to look to the future in self-determination and sovereignty.

[Lahodynsky] A power struggle has set in in the Kremlin. It is not certain whether Gorbachev will survive the 28th CPSU Congress as party chief. Could the replacement for Gorbachev stop the German unification process?

[De Maiziere] Looking back, I would say that Gorbachev's move from general secretary to president was certainly a very clever and well-considered decision, because it was made on the realization that the CPSU will clearly change. The possible split into several groups could lead to a multiparty system, which might lead to certain forms of democracy.

I think that acceptance of German unity is so extensive worldwide that, no matter who had the say in Moscow, he could not stop the unification process, but could at best make it more difficult.

[Lahodynsky] Should the West support Gorbachev with credits?

[De Maiziere] I think we should now demonstrate solidarity with Gorbachev without whom developments in Eastern Europe would not have taken place. Therefore, we should help him.

However, we must view the Soviet economy in a different way because it does not have any market economy structures. Nor can it be reformed as quickly and as incisively as our economy.

[Lahodynsky] The main problem of German unification probably is the military aspect.

[De Maiziere] At the two-plus-four talks in Berlin recently, Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze presented a new program which boils down to the powers'

agreement to early unification, with the alliance issue being delayed in a five-year transition period.

[Lahodinsky] What do you think about this proposal?

[De Maiziere] The Soviet Union's justified security interests must be guaranteed. The question is, who defines them? I do not consider Shevardnadze's proposal acceptable. By the process of German unification the rights of the former four Allies for Germany as a whole should be replaced and sovereignty should be restored.

That changes nothing about the fact that transitional solutions must be found for the presence of Soviet troops, for instance. That problem cannot be solved in a few weeks, because it involves 360,000 troops, 150,000 employees and family members.

We also need to have transitional solutions for our economic agreements with East European countries. Our motto is that agreements must be observed.

[Lahodinsky] Is the limitation of German troops to 300,000 men, called for by Moscow, acceptable?

[De Maiziere] The number of troops will have to be discussed. Perhaps Vienna would be the proper place to do this. The process of democratic reforms in Eastern Europe has created the conditions for us to pursue an entirely new way of thinking in the security area, and to overcome the blocs step by step. That will only be possible if the strategies and structures are changed, in other words, by reducing the weapons and troops.

However, I am not sure whether specific figures should be laid down. There was a difficult situation once before in German history when Germany's sovereignty was restricted by a final international settlement.

[Lahodinsky] Do you think that another Versailles is imminent?

[De Maiziere] No, I do not think so. I am only speaking about the possible psychological effects of certain measures. In an emotionally troubled time, policy depends much more on psychological understanding.

A solution must be found that does not create the impression among the Soviet people that Gorbachev is now losing World War II. Nor must the Americans have the impression that they are being driven out of Europe.

Nor are solutions acceptable that create the impression among the Germans that they still have to be watched closely because they are still irresponsible and have to be under tight control.

The Hungarians, Czechs, and Poles should also be incorporated into the processes of change.

Regarding your country, it must be made clear that neutral countries will not be singled out now.

[Lahodinsky] Some people believe that the concept of neutrality is outdated.

[De Maiziere] That is okay; however, Austria has fared quite well with its neutrality. Austria got its unity in 1955, and it is now 1990.

[Lahodinsky] In the fifties, Moscow also suggested neutrality for Germany as the price for reunification.

[De Maiziere] That offer is controversial; historians will have to find the truth. The offer made in 1952 to hold all-German elections must also be viewed against the background of the Korean war. The proposals submitted at that time were probably not acceptable to the Western allies.

[Lahodinsky] Regarding the current schedule of German unification, should unification be completed with all-German elections on 9 December?

[De Maiziere] We should at first describe the objective conditions in this respect. We will have economic, monetary, and social union on 1 July. That is a huge step which will have to be digested and will make the process of German unification irreversible. We will then require a second state treaty which will solve the problems related to the adjustment of the laws, financial equalization, or controversial issues such as the future German capital.

[Lahodinsky] You have stressed repeatedly that you favor Berlin.

[De Maiziere] In connection with the Basic Law, Bonn was declared a provisional capital. We will remind them of this fact. The seat of government must be transferred to Berlin step by step. Integrating the five laender of what is today the GDR will also be much easier from Berlin.

Germany's future development will also be highly oriented toward Eastern Europe in the economic area as well. I said to Mr. Mitterrand that Berlin is precisely in the middle between Paris and Warsaw.

[Lahodinsky] What was his reaction?

[De Maiziere] He said that this would be a good reason to make Berlin the capital. He shared my view.

[Lahodinsky] Will all-German elections be held on 9 December?

[De Maiziere] If we manage to agree on the second state treaty and found the laender by that time, and if the two-plus-four process leads to a good result, they could be held before the end of this year.

[Lahodinsky] People in the FRG are concerned that unification could spell a reduction in the prosperity achieved. What would you tell these people, many of whom come from the younger generation?

[De Maiziere] I would tell them that all Germans must jointly face up to German history. The situation that we have is the result of this history. Building the new, united Germany is a common task.

It was not our choice to live under real socialism and with the planned economy. That was the result of Yalta and Potsdam and, what is even more important, of the fire in the Reichstag Building in 1933 and what came after that.

[Lahodinsky] Is West German business investing enough? You criticized the hesitant attitude of German entrepreneurs.

[De Maiziere] Earlier this year, West German business was impatiently waiting to invest here. The GDR failed in January and February to create the necessary legal framework. I am referring to the regulation on joint ventures which was a deterrent rather than an encouragement.

[Lahodinsky] That happened under your predecessor Hans Modrow. Now there is a new privatization law.

[De Maiziere] This law and the state treaty supply the conditions for sound investments in our country. We will continue to encourage this because it would not be a good thing for the GDR to be a mere consumer market in a united Germany.

[Lahodinsky] The public was shocked at the information about the Red Army Faction [RAF] terrorists having been given shelter in the GDR. Honecker and the Stasi [State Security Service] officer Markus Wolf said they did not know anything about it. Should these people be prosecuted?

[Lahodinsky] First of all, I think this is a great success for our police, and it proves that our police, who were highly criticized last fall, can serve the democratic state.

To what extent responsible people such as Mr Honecker knew about it will have to be the subject of investigations. The question is whether their mere knowledge can already be considered a punishable offense. I think, however, that you can also become guilty by the failure to do what is necessary.

The problem is that the people were taken in after they had committed the crimes, so that we are dealing with the punishable offense of acting as an accessory after the fact. In addition, some persons might be subject to the statute of limitation.

[Lahodinsky] You discussed with Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez the amnesty following the Franco era. Could that be a model for Germany?

[De Maiziere] I discussed with him the repercussions of certain amnesty measures. I do not assume that we will cover all the guilt of the past with the veil of oblivion. I am opposed to criminalizing certain persons or groups. Let us take the police, who have done what the people expected them to do for years.

[Lahodinsky] How about the GDR spies who were unable to get away in time?

[De Maiziere] We will have to examine individual cases. There were also some gentlemen of other organs who found several things in our country very interesting. We will have to hold ... according to the pattern that we will apply the same measures against the other side's people as the other side does against our people.

[Lahodinsky] In a few months, there will be no GDR. Is there anything in this 40-year history that should be saved and adopted for an all-German future?

[De Maiziere] That question is a bit complicated, I think. To begin with, we will bring in 16 million people and as many hopes, as well as five German laender. Nobody should pretend that this is nothing. These people have worked hard for 40 years, and they were by no means less diligent than those who have lived under a different system.

These people did not have an equal chance to create property and create prosperity; however, they did not give up. They have not only been able to keep the spirit of freedom and democracy alive, they have also led it to a new bloom, on their own strength and without weapons.

[Lahodinsky] Austria had good contacts with the GDR, above all in the nationalized industry and in the agricultural sector. Austria's farmers are now already concerned about their grain exports.

[De Maiziere] I think other countries in the East might want to buy your grain. However, we have set up a working group in our Foreign Ministry to review all our trade agreements. Basically, we want to fulfill the agreements we concluded.

[Lahodinsky] What are your plans for your personal future? Reportedly, you might be interested in heading a ministry in charge of the former GDR region.

[De Maiziere] I will be fortunate enough to be able to chose among offers and, possibly, to say "no." In addition, I have my profession as a lawyer.

Diestel Claims: 'I Do Not Need a Party'

AU2606135590 Hamburg DIE WELT in German
26 Jun 90 p 7

[Detlev Ahlers report: "Interior Minister Diestel: I Do Not Need a Party"]

[Excerpts] Berlin—"He acts differently from what he says," the chairman of the CSU [German Social Union] faction in the People's Chamber, Hans Joachim Walther, stated in an interview with DIE WELT, referring to Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel. At the upcoming CSU Congress on Saturday [30 June], the Berlin branch wants to propose reprimanding Diestel. The party regrets that it does not yet have an arbitration committee. "The Executive Committee will have to make a decision," the spokesman of the DSU People's

Chamber group, Fugger, pointed out. The DSU Executive Committee will be elected on Saturday [30 June]. What about Diestel, who is not a deputy? He told DIE WELT yesterday: "Requests for reprimands are attempts by insignificant officials to acquire a stronger profile. I do not need a party. I will attend the party congress if I receive an invitation. Although I am the DSU member with the highest position, I received no invitation for last week's congress in Saxony."

Diestel described the six DSU deputies Backofen, Franke, Tiesler, Lindenlaub, Latussek, and Schneider, who had voted against the Oder-Neisse statement adopted by the People's Chamber, as "extremely right-wing and embarrassing." The deputies stressed that "they were missing a conciliatory gesture (on the part of Poland)... We see no need for a further statement on the Oder-Neisse border." [passage omitted]

Referring to the slashing of the security system, Diestel stressed that, before taking office, he had discussed the basic principles of his tasks with Lothar de Maiziere. The parts of the Main Department XXII of the former Ministry for State Security were taken over by the Interior Ministry as they existed. Asked whether he can proceed from the assumption that all former members of the Stasi state security system are loyal to their new boss and place all their knowledge at his disposal, he stated: "I proceed from this assumption. Those who act differently will immediately be dismissed. Life is complicated." [passage omitted]

State Defense Secretary on NVA's Future

AU2606113590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 22 Jun 90 p 3

[Interview with Frank Marczinek, parliamentary state secretary in the Ministry of Defense and Disarmament, by Uwe Kalbe, in East Berlin on 21 June, "on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the treaty on the Oder-Neisse border": "NVA Conceivable as a Basic Territorial Army"]

[Text] [Kalbe] Anniversaries are no longer celebrated, but they still give food for thought. Do you see a connection between this anniversary [the 40th anniversary of the treaty on the Oder-Neisse border] and the tasks of your Ministry?

[Marczinek] One of the basic premises of our government is the recognition of the European status quo. What we are doing in terms of disarmament and the conversion of armed forces will be the path to preserve the stability of our continent.

[Kalbe] What might a German army look like, in your view?

[Marczinek] No matter what, the future strength of the army will be below the sum of the Bundeswehr plus the National People's Army [NVA]. A self-limitation of German armed forces would also be conceivable.

[Kalbe] Which possibilities do you still see for the independent shaping of the structures of future armed forces?

[Marczinek] Everything is still being discussed. But I see important premises: No troops subordinate to NATO will be stationed on the territory of today's GDR; the territorial armed forces that are to be formed here will be independent of the actual structure of the Bundeswehr. The NVA will be turned into a basic territorial army—similar to the home defense troops of the Bundeswehr.

[Kalbe] How do you assess the readiness of the FRG Government to participate equally in disarmament and conversion? Despite announced reduction of military service, the defense budget is higher than ever.

[Marczinek] This is a trend, which can be observed internationally, to reduce quantities and to increase the quality of technical equipment. It will be the business of the government of a united Germany to further tackle these problems. Concerning the planned reduction of military service: It is also the result of talks between Ministers Stoltenberg and Eppelmann. Even though one always gets the impression that the adjustment of the two states is one-sided, in this case, both sides have approached each other.

[Kalbe] Does your Ministry not have more ideas—that is, ideas concerning disarmament—to contribute to the talks?

[Marczinek] Those who have the economic power also have the political power. There is only one version: To do what we are doing now in such a way that it survives the process of unification and that it cannot be thrown out under FRG law. The extent to which the projects of the GDR Government, such as the established Institute for Conversion or a foundation to support processes of conversion, will continue to exist in a united Germany, also depends on how much the peace movement contributes.

Civilian Service To Be 'Stricter'

AU2606134090 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German
25 Jun 90 p 14

[Unattributed report: "Smart Civilian"]

[Text] Even before German-German unification, East Berlin's minister for disarmament and defense, Rainer Eppelmann wants to adapt the GDR's alternative civilian service to the stricter FRG rules. This is the content of a draft of a law on compulsory military service, yet to be published, which the former conscientious objector and construction soldier Eppelmann wants to present to the People's Chamber shortly. The draft deviates considerably from the promises that Eppelmann has made so far, namely that he is in favor of treating military service and civilian service in the same way. Whereas service in the Army should continue to last 12 months, the draft law provides for an extension of the civilian service from 12 to 15 months. The current

regulation of civilian service will entail personnel problems in the National People's Army, the disarmament minister stated recently. "Basically," doing one's duty means doing military service, the document stresses. The planned law, that "has been coordinated with Bonn," according to an Eppelmann aide, will make it more difficult to change over from military service to civilian service. So far, a "statement" was sufficient for changing over from the Army to civilian service. In the future, this will only be possible in "well-founded exceptional cases."

Defense Ministries To Foster Contacts

LD2606175190 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1654 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Strausberg (ADN)—The two German defense ministries intend to further develop existing working contacts. The state secretaries of the two ministries Werner Ablass (GDR) and Dr. Karl-Heinz Carl (FR) came out in favor of this in Strausberg near Berlin on Tuesday [26 June]. The existing contacts between the two ministries have removed prejudices and deepened understanding of the tasks to be solved in the course of the unification of the two German states, they said. What is important in this process is to take account of the security interests of all European states.

Daily Claims Stasi 'Infiltrated' Enterprises

LD2706073690 Hamburg DPA in German
0217 GMT 27 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Since 1986 over 2,000 top secret officers of the former State Security service (Stasi) have been appointed to key GDR positions at home and abroad, according to the GDR newspaper DER MORGEN. The newspaper reports in today's edition that the officers were intended to be active in all key social areas. All ministries, border troops and customs, but in particular the large-scale enterprises and universities, are still infiltrated by officers of this kind.

The Stasi employees were given a second identity for their employment. They were also able, with exemption, to disregard the law in the course of their duties. It was known to the newspaper that, the People's Chamber Presidium has at its disposal an initial lists of some of the names.

Price Increases on Imported Goods Announced

LD2606105890 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1020 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The Economics and the Trade and Tourism Ministries have announced temporary price increases for a series of imported industrial goods as of 1 July to protect domestic manufacturers. Firms and businessmen engaged in importing and selling these products in the GDR have to pay the Finance Office 11

percent of the price up to the end of the year and, after that, six percent of the price up to the 31 March. Foodstuffs are exempt.

Manfred Ortlieb of the Economics Ministry told ADN the measure is aimed at aiding adjustments and sales of GDR products and at safeguarding a large number of jobs. It is in line with Article 14 of the State Treaty. Only products that can be produced in the GDR in sufficient quantities and according to Western standards of quality and efficiency will be affected. In the ministry's view the relatively small price surcharge will not lead to an overall price increase. [passage omitted]

CDU Votes for Merger With DBD

LD2606210890 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1649 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The Christian Democratic Union [CDU] in the GDR is to accept the offer of the Democratic Farmers' Party of Germany (DBD) for a merger of the two parties. Helmut Lueck, CDU press spokesman, made this announcement in Berlin today. The CDU Party Executive voted by a large majority to give a green light to a merger at its afternoon session.

Talks Concerning Jewish Claims End in Berlin

LD2606140990 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1315 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Two days of talks between representatives of the Jewish Claims Conference and GDR Government representatives in Berlin, which ended today, dealt with the preparation of negotiations concerning the payment of compensation to Jewish victims of fascism and the reinstatement of Jewish property within the GDR. A press statement published today says that a framework for an imminent start to concrete negotiations was set out in the talks, which were held in a constructive and friendly atmosphere. GDR Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere stated a willingness to begin talks on 10 June during his visit to the United States.

Galinski on Jewish Immigration

AU2606123890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 23-24 Jun 90 p 3

[Unattributed ADN report: "Is It Intended To Close the GDR?"]

[Text] East Berlin—Heinz Galinski, chairman of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, considers it urgently necessary for the GDR Government to act concerning the question of taking in Soviet Jews. Concerning this question, he is striving for a personal talk with Premier De Maiziere. Galinski said in Berlin on Friday [22 June].

The Council of Ministers must quickly make decisions which settle integration and the provision of jobs and housing. Otherwise, one should "be honest and say that

it is intended to close the GDR." The issue is not special regulations, but that Jews people must not be worse off than all other groups of asylum-seekers.

Over the past days, the situation has escalated: Soviet Jews continue to enter the GDR; the collection homes in Ahrensfelde and Scholdow are, however, already overcrowded.

Landtag Elections in Oct at Earliest

*LD2706140990 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1232 GMT 27 Jun 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR cabinet today approved a draft law for the Landtag elections. This was

announced by government spokesman Matthias Gehler at the traditional news conference after the cabinet meeting today. During the debate on the law it was clear that Landtag elections on 23 September, as had been suggested by various sides, were technically not feasible. They can take place at the earliest in October, Gehler told journalists. The date and the question of a possible threshold has been left open in the draft.

The cabinet also adopted a resolution to lift border controls. The first paragraph reads as follows: From 1 July all checks of persons crossing the inner-German border will be lifted. Germans may cross the inner-German borders at any point. This also applies to foreigners who meet the immigration requirements.

Assembly Meets; Pact Withdrawal Resolution**Hegedues Addresses Assembly**

*LD2606114690 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0850 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Speech by Istvan Hegedues, deputy chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Speaker, Esteemed National Assembly! I would like to return to the history of the proposal first. Indeed, as Miklos Vasarhelyi mentioned, we are considering the original proposals on our agenda submitted by him on behalf of the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] as an emergency proposal, about one-and-a-half months ago. As you well remember, the House at that time did not accept the emergency provision, and the proposal was referred to the Foreign Affairs or Defense Committee for further consideration.

As Miklos Vasarhelyi said, this proposal has since been modified in several respects. First, it was modified with certain amendments proposed by FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats]. But the modifications were mostly a result of debates and work carried out in the committee.

The essential principle has changed on which Parliament will now—if they accept our proposal—state in the proposed motion the intention of leaving the Warsaw Pact. This reason is stated in paragraph 62 of the Vienna Convention, and not the Imre Nagy government declaration made on 1 November [1956]. This does not mean, however, that the committee differs in any way from the original point of view of the 1956 Imre Nagy government declaration; it only means that in terms of international law, we managed to find a better, more fortunate justification.

All six parties, which are represented in the committee, found that the 1 November 1956 Imre Nagy statement expressed both the will of the people of the revolution and the six parties represented in the committee. The spirit of the national will expressed during the elections this year reaches back to this Imre Nagy government declaration. I repeat once more that only the legal justification was worded differently by the opinion of the six-party committee.

I would also like to continue with what Miklos Vasarehelyi suggested, that this proposal is a joint effort by the six parties, and the significance of this must not be underestimated. We managed to prepare a balanced text which is acceptable to all.

I imagine that here, in the detailed debates, every party will have the opportunity to add their own observations and input to the proposal.

It is also extremely important that there is no question of a unilateral intention of leaving the Pact. The proposal

clearly states that our leaving the Warsaw Pact should be carried out on a negotiated basis by the government.

I do not wish to read out the proposed motion, as it must be in front of every member of parliament; I would only add a few short observations to a number of points.

I have already talked about the first point, which links the basis of the justification for leaving the Pact to the Vienna Convention. I want to draw your attention to the sentence which says that it is desirable for the government to carry out negotiations about leaving the Pact with every member state.

I would add a short comment to the second point. According to the text, the government, as a first step toward leaving the Warsaw Pact, would suspend participation in the military organization of the Pact. This point must also be interpreted that during the negotiations about leaving, withdrawal from the military organization should be the first aim. I want to add that this statement, to some extent, as Miklos Vasarhelyi indicated, is linked to a previous proposal put forward one-and-a-half months ago indicating that, even if time runs out, the proposal relates to the existing situation.

What has happened is that the government, during the Moscow discussions, adopted sections of the proposal which are not included in the one presented to Parliament. In spite of this, I think that a parliamentary motion, even if it is in tune with the daily activities of the government, naturally reinforces the government, gives it greater authority if it is known that some of their activities enjoy the support of all six parties, or that the government acted in accordance of the wishes of the six parties concerning the question of leaving the Warsaw Pact.

To the third point—that is the third point of the proposed motion—I would add a short comment. Concerning the interests of Hungary; we tried to word the text in a dynamic sense, trying not to start from a static position. Therefore, the text demands that the government fulfill Hungarian interests.

I do not wish to add to the fourth and fifth points; they are self-evident. The question here is the creation of an all-European security system, toward which the government must make every effort; concerning the member states of the Warsaw Pact, we wish to continue fruitful cooperation, while at the same time it is obvious that the bilateral friendship and cooperation treaties have to be reexamined; because these were made earlier, their spirit and content are largely, or completely, obsolete.

Naturally, as a presenter for the Committee, and once again stressing that all six parties supported the proposal without reservations, I can only recommend that the House accept the proposal. Thank you!

Katona on Warsaw Pact Resolution

*LD2606141990 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0908 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Speech by State Secretary Tamas Katona on the Hungarian-Warsaw Pact draft resolution at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Speaker, Esteemed National Assembly:

It would have been proper if the government had been the first to detail its work on the resolution so far. And it is because of technological devilry that this has not happened.

Allow me to begin by asking us to consider that, along with the very salutary motion of Miklos Vasarhelyi, the government program expressed—and it is the intention of government—its desire to leave the Warsaw Pact. I think that the speech, which the prime minister delivered on 7 June at the political consultative body of the Warsaw Pact, also conveyed this. The prime minister began by denying the idea that the Warsaw Pact is a treaty whose further maintenance, complete in its existing form, is an international necessity. He wanted to deal—not with the democratization of the treaty—but with its full reexamination. And he also said that in our judgment, in the government's judgment, the grounds for the existence of the Warsaw Pact military organization, like the justification for the division of Europe, has ceased to exist.

Obviously, the desired objective for us is that the military organization—achieved through a common decision—should cease to exist as soon as possible. If the member states insist on maintaining the military organization, then Hungary's first task in the path of long negotiations on seceding from the Warsaw Pact is to leave the military organization, by the end of 1991 at the latest, according to our plans.

Obviously, the withdrawal from the military organization must take place in several phases, several stages, because it affects—to an extraordinary extent—all European processes which are very beneficial. Therefore, we must accomplish this without endangering the Vienna talks, or the Soviet troop withdrawals from Hungary, which have so far taken place according to the timetable. We must also take into account the difficulties that the reestablishment of German unity constitutes within European unity.

It is also apparent that such a withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact could easily sweep Hungary into a sort of isolated situation, and it is necessary to safeguard against this. We are well aware that the large states are very threatened by any isolated situation that may result from the withdrawal. That is why the Hungarian Government prefers that a unified Germany find its own place within NATO, if it so wishes, rather than being squeezed

between two blocs. Between the two world wars Germany was also squeezed between rival blocs. This became dangerous for Europe.

Likewise, we would consider it dangerous if the United States and Canada were to pull out of the European processes and if we were to now use the current political situation to push the iron curtain further to the East and to try to exclude the Soviet Union from Europe. An isolated position for the Soviet Union could be extremely dangerous for Europe. And naturally, the government is trying to do its utmost so that Hungary, having left the Warsaw Pact, would not end up in an isolated situation. First and foremost, the government has already begun to reexamine the bilateral friendship and mutual assistance treaties, not only to delete from these treaties all the points which guaranteed the possibility of military intervention,—which have left behind bad memories—but also to conclude bilateral agreements with all of the countries which up to now have belonged to the Warsaw Pact; so that we establish what the treaty has meant for us up to now.

Obviously, our obligation to withdraw from the military agreement means that we do not participate in this year's military exercises, nor permit anything of this type on Hungarian territory. Along with bilateral negotiations, we would like to pursue the possibilities within regional cooperation, both trilateral agreements and possible Alps-Adriatic cooperation—thus pentagonal relations, too—so that the country will not be threatened by remaining outside Europe. We would like to achieve a sort of cooperative status [kooperativ status] in Europe.

The government proposed at the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee that the consultative body should decide to set up a special government commission. It will be comprised of ambassadors and special representatives, which will reexamine the character, functions, and operations of the Warsaw Pact, and will, by the last quarter of this year, make concrete proposals to the consultative body, including the gradual deletion of sections on military cooperation, taking into account the development of the European security and cooperation process. Budapest is willing to provide a venue for this objective in November for an extraordinary session of the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee.

In conclusion, I would like to mention another one of the government's intentions: The government wants to examine the possibilities for developing an initiative in which we would launch in Hungary the operation of a permanent Warsaw Pact-NATO working (?body), which would constitute one of the achievable elements of an all-European security structures.

I recommend that the National Assembly's draft resolution—that of the Foreign Affairs Committee, the Defense Committee—be adopted, not only because it fully accords with the government's intentions, but also because it means a sort of special authorization for the government, which it can rely on more than the three

government parties' natural solidarity. This will always be our intention in Hungarian foreign policy, in Hungarian security policy. We want to pursue a policy which meets with the agreement of the entire house, all of the six parties. [applause]

Assembly Supports Pact Withdrawal

*LD2606144390 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1320 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[From the live relay of the National Assembly session in Budapest]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [National Assembly President Matyas Szuros] Esteemed National Assembly:

Now follows the vote. I ask the esteemed National Assembly whether it wants to adopt the draft National Assembly resolution on the relationship of the Republic of Hungary and the Warsaw Pact. Please vote.

[Unidentified correspondent] The resolution asks the government to begin negotiations on leaving the Warsaw Pact—first and foremost—based on the clause in the Vienna convention which refers to a fundamental change in the circumstances in which the treaty was concluded. First, Hungarian participation in the Warsaw Pact military organization must be halted.

A total of 232 deputies have voted in favor without any votes against, and there are four abstentions. [passage omitted]

Defense Committee Supports Soviet Withdrawal

*LD2606151790 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0858 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Speech by Defense Committee Chairman Gyorgy Balogh at the National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, esteemed National Assembly. During the election campaign, the people repeatedly demanded that the Soviet soldiers leave our country's territory as soon as possible. This demand, and related inquiries, was noticed abroad. When I participated in discussions of delegation leaders at the Bonn session of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, nearly every delegation leader focused on the matter. A few weeks ago, the Italian defense committee visited our country, and Soviet withdrawal was one of the most important topic of inquiry for the committee. Yesterday, when the U.S. military delegation visited us, they were also primarily interested in this issue.

Therefore, the motion submitted by Miklos Vasarhelyi is topical, timely, and the National Assembly should deal with it. Because of the way it was submitted, it not only fell incorrectly under the purview the [National Assembly] Foreign Affairs Committee, but also under the purview of the Defense Committee, and this is explained in the second and third points of the draft resolution. Before I approach an analysis of the issue from the Defense Committee's perspective, allow me to

say that Hungary, at the end of World War II—as a result of its geopolitical situation—figured as a boundary for interest and ideological spheres. This resulted in its entrance into the Warsaw Treaty, along with the military component of the Warsaw Treaty, because it had lost its independence. Hungary was unable to discuss having an independent military doctrine, instead it became part of the military doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty—more specifically—of the Soviet Union.

This necessarily raises the requirement for us to shape an independent Hungarian military doctrine, and from a military viewpoint, this is currently the primary task. It is easy to say that within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty—which represents a political and military complex—we should immediately and impatiently abolish our membership, but the realization of this—I emphasize that I approach the matter from the aspects of military policy—is not so simple. Why not? The Soviets have to transport back to the Soviet Union a standing military force some 1,769 trains. According to current plans, they will meet their obligations by some 70 percent by the end of 1990, 20 percent by next February, and 10 percent by the end of next June. Included are some 260 trains, whose fate has not yet been decided, as the Hungarian state may need some of them.

There is a basic problem we have to resolve here. Not only are there political objectives, but economic and accounting objectives as well. We consider it expedient if we separate the accounting responsibilities, as their implementation requires much more time than actually transporting troops out—that is pulling them out. What do I mean? The claim that the Soviets have submitted amounts up to 50 billion forints—that is 2.7 billion rubles—to us; due to a lack of time, I won't detail what is involved, and why the Hungarian side can accept this claim only to a value of 10 billion [forints]. While settling accounts, one must weigh the past and determine what the value of use of the premises is, which was never taken into account, how many Soviet investments have been liquidized. Overall, in the final analysis, this would stop at 10 billion. We must pay attention to these responsibilities, and to how the military assets are freed during disarmament, assets which must be altered for civilian use; how this will take place, and how defense, which is more important than anything else from the Hungarian nation's perspective, is realized in the independent Hungarian military doctrine.

All in all, the Defense Committee accepts the draft resolution, and asks the National Assembly to adopt it as well.

Resolution Outlined

*LD2606162590 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1520 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Report by unidentified correspondent from the National Assembly session in Budapest—live relay]

[Excerpt] I shall turn to today's outstanding event, to the National Assembly's adoption of the resolution on the Republic of Hungary's relationship with the Warsaw Pact.

Hungarian legislature asks the government of the Republic of Hungary, on the basis of the 62d clause of the Vienna convention, referencing the fundamental change in circumstances in which the treaty was concluded, to begin negotiations on the withdrawal of our country from the Warsaw Pact. The preamble of the resolution recalls that on 1 November 1956, the Hungarian Government stated its intention to leave the Warsaw Pact. However, at that time, the military intervention on 4 November, which overthrew the government, prevented the statement's legality. For this reason, the freely elected National Assembly now—again—states that our country intends to leave the Warsaw Pact.

The resolution also states that it is desirable to negotiate an agreement with every member state, every member state of the Warsaw pact, that our country should not and will not be a member of the Warsaw Pact.

The resolution continues that as a first step, the government should halt Hungarian participation in the Warsaw Pact military organization. The Hungarian Army should not take part in joint military maneuvers, nor should the troops of the Warsaw Pact be able to hold military exercises on Hungary's territory.

The National Assembly asks the government, in the course of the negotiations, to pay attention to our country's security, political, legal, and economic interests, and it should ensure that these interests are asserted.

It is also important that the National Assembly asks the government to begin negotiations with the Warsaw Pact member states on reexamining the bilateral friendship and mutual assistance treaties. It is necessary to delete from these treaties everything which gives authorization for military intervention or, in some other manner, violates our country's sovereignty.

In conclusion, the National Assembly resolution declares that the Republic of Hungary wishes to live in peace and friendship with all of its neighbors. It will not allow anyone to use the country's territories for the purpose of attacking or threatening a third state. The Hungarian Government will also be committed to creating an all-European security system, and it will inform the Warsaw Pact member states—with whom it will strive for future, fruitful economic and cultural relations—about these diplomatic efforts. [passage omitted]

Horn on Pact Withdrawal, Soviet Troops

*LD2606155490 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0920 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Speech by Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Gyula Horn at National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] This past month has given us the opportunity to debate the most important elements of the proposal from the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free democrats] faction, according to Miklos Vasarhelyi. I personally believe that the main problem with the proposal was that it did not consider all the interests and perspectives which are indispensable for a question of such import. For a country as small as Hungary, it is extremely important to first consider, analyze, and then take concrete steps. I must say, and as Miklos Vasarhelyi has also acknowledged, the Foreign Committee has not only done much work on the subject, but has also implemented very many concrete correctional steps in the text.

Regarding the operational activity of the government: I can agree with what our delegation represented at the Moscow summit, and our government's negotiations—it initiated a new way without causing unbearable tensions. And yet, the Hungarian Government was left standing alone in Moscow with its intentions.

If we consider the stands expressed in Moscow of the other member states it is unequivocal that the Warsaw Pact Organization must be modernized, restructured—but nobody supports any kind of hasty decision or step which would, for example, aim at the premature or immediate end of the Warsaw Pact. I would recall Havel's foreign policy, which was formulated in Warsaw and Copenhagen, that it is the interest of the Warsaw Pact and all of Europe that the Soviet Union remains inside this alliance, for without this, the Soviet Union would be shut out of Europe.

So, we have to implement a withdrawal—and the Foreign Affairs Committee supports this—which does not cause any damage to our national interests, and to the process of detente. Nor should it endanger the country, particularly if we consider the tensions of our neighbors manifesting themselves, and the anti-Magyar outbursts.

I also consider it extremely important that the Foreign Affairs Committee also very thoroughly analysed the international political, economic, and other elemental factors connected with the withdrawal. As a matter of fact there was agreement in this as well, albeit with great difficulty.

Concerning negotiations which the government wishes to carry out, I would like to raise the following—that is, draw it to the attention of the government. First, we must make every effort not to unsettle, or perhaps make impossible, the Hungarian negotiating position in Vienna on the 23rd. This is a crucial interest not just for Hungary but for the whole process of detente; without this, the disarmament steps which we are expecting from this agreement cannot be implemented in Central Europe, southeastern Europe, all of Europe.

Second: I also consider it extremely important to begin negotiations as soon as possible, along with the negotiations concerning Warsaw Pact, to guarantee Hungary's security. I call my esteemed deputy companions' attention to the fact that this among other things is also a

condition of Hungary's ability to join the Western European integrational systems. They can only accept us if Hungary has adequate guarantees of security at her disposal. The signing of new bilateral agreements, first and foremost with our neighbors, must be initiated. I am thinking of the agreement which we initiated last year with our Moscow partners: Hungarian-Soviet relations must have new contractual bases. The same applies in a wider sphere, primarily—apart from our Warsaw Pact neighbors—with Italy, which is very important from our strategic position, as it is in the same situation. It is also worth considering how a valid and modernizable bilateral agreement between the GDR and Hungary can be asserted in the case of the new unified Germany.

I do not need to go into our interests connected to this. So, I would call it to the esteemed government's attention that they should definitely incorporate these points of view—assert them during the course of negotiations.

One more thing: Gyorgy Balogh, my fellow deputy, spoke about the stance of the Defense Committee. I am sorry that the related arguments were not voiced, but I think the Defense Committee will debate and analyze what will become of Hungary's future military procurements, the sources for modernizing its army, and so on. It is a generally known fact, for example, that around 100 billion, forints would be needed to finance a reorganization of air defense alone.

It is also obvious that we must turn attention to a modernization implemented with circumspection, especially given the situation which has emerged. I would also call Gyorgy Balogh's attention to the fact that we should not formulate any kind of prior sum, concerning the withdrawal of Soviet troops. In my opinion, when both negotiating delegations consider everything, it is conceivable, moreover desirable, that not one filler compensation will need to be paid. [applause]

I would also emphasize that this can and must be achieved through negotiations, but with a very determined representation of Hungarian interests. Thank you for your attention.

Tamas on Soviet Withdrawal

*LD2606164390 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1000 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Speech by National Assembly duty speaker Gaspar Miklos Tamas at the assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Our deliberate and gradual distancing from the Warsaw Pact has another aspect too: it is the Soviet troop withdrawal. Here I need to call the attention of the esteemed house in connection with this. I must refer to two statements, one made by the deputy chairman of the defense committee of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the other by Colonel General Burlakov, Commander of the Soviet Southern Army

Group, the commander of Soviet troops which—hopefully—this time really are stationed only temporarily in our homeland.

Both statements urge compensation and material reparation from the Hungarian state in the case of various assets left behind by the Soviet troops. I do not want to go into the various book-keeping calculations—I think that these sums are debatable—this is not what I would want to talk about, but about the fact that Colonel General Burlakov and his colleagues too must learn that they cannot speak in this tone to the sovereign Hungarian National Government. [applause]

I am not saying this because I believe that the leaders of the Soviet Union need be lectured by the Hungarian National Assembly. I think that they are considerate politicians, and if such a statement is voiced then we really must take it seriously in this way—that we reject it. [passage omitted]

Antall on 1956 Decision

*LD2606123490 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1031 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Speech by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Excuse me, Mr. Speaker, I shall be very brief. In order to reassure my fellow-deputy and friend, Imre Mecs, I should like to say that not only in the resolution, but in Moscow—in the course of political talks and at the conference itself—it was said in the Hungarian Government delegation's submissions and is in the documents, that in 1956, Imre Nagy's revolutionary government passed a firm decision on Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty. Thus, in the course of the talks in Moscow, it was stated in an official speech and placed in the minutes. Therefore, the question of 1956 and what the stance of the Imre Nagy government has been explained; it is contained in the documents. That is one thing I wished to say.

The other thing, which was said by fellow-deputy Bela Kiraly, refers specifically to the 1956 stance, one part being a Government statement. Precisely because these matters are arising—on several occasions both abroad and here at home—we have said that there occurs historical situations in which, precisely because there is not even the last straw [of hope], political morale comes to the fore. In 1849, the Olmutz constitution justified the measure—much-disputed politically—that resulted in the 1849 dethronement. The historical reflex in 1956 was exactly the same as the 1849 dethronement. Everyone knew exactly that in this historical situation, there was no more chance. In this historical situation, the Government stated its intention that there should be no possibility of an argument for direct intervention. We knew that it did not alter the historical facts, and agrees with reality exactly as Bela Kiraly said. After, or rather parallel to, the statement, the committee designated for cease-fire talks was set up—Geza Losonczy, Jozsef

Kovago, and others, I also had the fortune to go with the delegation. I have exact knowledge of the details; this agrees with it, and this entire 1956 experiment, and its legal, political, and moral aspects constitute part of our talks in Warsaw. I should like to reassure all those who might have wished for divergence of any type; this exists in exact form, and is in the minutes.

The third thing: such matters arise in the course of talks abroad. Now, too, they have arisen. Naturally, these questions are asked, and I believe that in every case we have been able to reply that Hungary did not wish, in the past period either, to promote conservation of a status quo, and as part of a new European and political security system, it chooses to play the role of front-runner in these matters. Therefore, we, now too, are seeing that this is carried out, and if we raise the issue—not through unilateral talks, but through the appropriate procedure of negotiations and not unilateral withdrawal—the Western great powers may accept this, just like—hopefully—our partners will, in the appropriate time. Thank you. [applause]

Interior Minister on Investigating Past Criminals

LD2606183390 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1217 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Speech by Hungarian Interior Minister Balazs Horvath at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] I know well that political mistakes verging on criminal acts did take place, and therefore, although I do not know if this reply will satisfy you and other members of parliament, I wish to inform you that I have asked the chief prosecutor to start criminal proceedings; in the case of some people, only to establish the facts, not to hold them responsible, or to apply the consequences, precisely because they are now dead—against Janos Kadar, Andras Benkei, Andras Gyenes, Karoly Nemeth, Mihaly Korom, and Sandor Racz. As I said earlier, if they are dead their actions must be investigated.

The explanation for this is as follows: I learned that terrorists sought by Interpol were kept in Hungary for a long time. These terrorists were on the Interpol wanted list, and although the Hungarian Ministry of Interior and their organs were not members of Interpol, they were aware of this fact. They approached the then Hungarian Socialist Workers Party political committee, and its head, and asked for political instructions on what should happen to the Carlos group and associates. With the documents in my possession, I have asked the public prosecutor to establish—prior to 30 August 1979—what kind of political responsibility can be attributed to those I have named, in that Hungary gave criminals on the Interpol search list, asylum or opportunities to prepare for their further activities. [passage omitted]

Interior Minister on 'Terrorists' in Hungary

LD2606195190 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1600 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Report on interview with Interior Minister Balazs Horvath by correspondent Jozsef Orosz; place and date not given]

[Text] At the beginning of the program I mentioned that the minister of the interior has announced in parliament that he asked the chief prosecutor to start criminal procedures; because during the Kadar regime Hungary harbored international terrorists wanted by Interpol, such as the Carlos group. In addition, the country made it possible for them to prepare for their actions here. Jozsef Orosz asked Balazs Horvath, interior minister, for more detailed information.

[Begin recording] [Horvath] Tibor Carlos is a cover name; he is a terrorist well known, world wide, with a very secure cover. The cover, in this case, was most probably Hungary and the other people's democracies, and possibly the Soviet Union.

[Orosz] Where is Carlos now, in Hungary?

[Horvath] He is not in Hungary. I do not know where he is hiding, but it is certain that Carlos and his group are not in Hungary. At the end of the seventies and beginning of the eighties, he stayed in Hungary with the permission of the Political Committee. Andras Gyenes, Karoly Nemeth, and Mihaly Korom were aware of it. Sandor Racz, head of a department of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee, and in 1979 [words indistinct]. Certainly Janos Kadar also knew about it. Andras Benkei also had to know; he brought this information [word indistinct] to the knowledge of the above listed Political Committee members and prominent Communists.

[Orosz] How did you get this information: from whom?

[Horvath] Through a fateful accident: somebody either committed an indiscretion, or got frightened, and this secret weighed so heavily on him that he felt it was his obligation to disclose it.

[Orosz] Admitting this fact, what sort of conclusion does the ministry, or you personally, arrive at? Do you consider it impossible that there are, at this moment, terrorists in Hungary? Do you suppose that if somebody has leaked this information to you, when the opportunity arises such information could be used against both you and the ministry, and also against the government?

[Horvath] To my knowledge there are none, but that does not mean that there are no terrorists here. I am certain of one thing: permission for this was not issued either by the government or the Ministry of the interior, not by National Security Office or anybody else: I am 100 percent convinced of this.

What I know indirectly is that the Romanian—that is, development of intelligence work in eastern relations,

according to the old system—was not allowed. I have the feeling—but this is only an impression—that we are not appropriately secured concerning to our eastern neighbor—I mean Soviet intelligence. It is quite conceivable that a fairly serious informal system of relations is still alive among the people.

[Orosz] On the basis of what you saying, shall I take it that KGB agents are here in Hungary?

[Horvath] No, I did not say that they are here; I said that there could be a close informal personal link between KGB agents and residual elements from the old regime, and this facilitates their operations to no end. For Hungarian intelligence has previously not been operating to avert the Soviet danger; it worked against Western agents. I think, therefore, that the eastern channels of the National Security Office have not even developed. This is the great danger. [end recording]

Interior Minister on Alleged List of Informants

AU2706152190 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 23 Jun 90 p 5

[Interview with Interior Minister Balazs Horvath by Jozsef K. Horvath; place and date not given: "The Interior Ministry Is Helpless Against the Former Informants"; first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Excerpts] The Csongrad county organization of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party [MSZDP] issued an open letter asking for correct information from Balazs Horvath on the infiltration of secret agents in the former opposition parties. In case the minister does not have such a list, he should do everything in his power to provide as much information as possible. However, the best solution would be to publish the list of names because "otherwise, simple people will not believe that a change in regime is really taking place."

[Jozsef Horvath] Do you have such a list?

[Balazs Horvath] [passage omitted] I must say that there is no such list. It is generally well-known that the documents were destroyed, according to a strange state secretarial and deputy ministerial order. No document was prepared on the content of these documents, nor was the destruction of the documents registered—also at the order of the deputy minister. Thus, I cannot investigate even the type of documents that were destroyed. I personally checked the archives and found neither the aforementioned list nor operative reports.

[Jozsef Horvath] This is also strange because the people on this list could threaten, not only the social democrats but also all the former opposition parties, including your party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF].

[Balazs Horvath] Despite the "flourishing" of informant activity and as we know—the former III/III department was extremely active even in the universities—I still cannot do anything against the former agents. I know that this is nothing but a "time bomb." I fear that copies

were made from these documents. I called upon the experts and they tried to calm me by claiming that they cannot imagine copies and photocopies were made from such a large amount of destroyed documents.

[Jozsef Horvath] In other words, you can say with a clear conscience that no such list can be found within the Interior Ministry.

[Balazs Horvath] For sure, there are no such lists within the Interior Ministry. Unfortunately, I do not know what was taken out of here before I became minister, and what documents were claimed to be destroyed but nevertheless preserved. However, I would like to say one thing, namely that there were a lot of honest men enlisted in this activity. Many people were forced to report on others; for example, capitalizing on the hopeless situation of a professional driver caught drinking and driving. For such a person, his driving license is a matter of life and death. Providing information was the condition for dropping charges. As a result of some minor services, the name of such "informants" could also be on the list of the Interior Ministry agents. [passage omitted]

[Jozsef Horvath] How could you clear up this affair once and for all?

[Balazs Horvath] In my opinion, the information is hidden in the people's heads. However, lacking proof, we cannot take adequate action against this flow of disgusting gossip. We also discussed the matter with the premier but we have not yet found an adequate way of solving this problem. [passage omitted]

Ex-Interior Minister Says Allegations Untrue

LD2606195290 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Balazs Horvath has made a surprising statement in parliament: namely that former party leaders provided asylum in Hungary for terrorists wanted by Interpol. He announced as a concrete fact that prior to 30 August 1979, the so-called Carlos group received the means to prepare for further crimes. [passage omitted: Horvath's announcement]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] I do not know how much you can say about this unexpected information; has it come from essentially internal, external, or intelligence sources?

[Horvath] The information is of internal origin. For how long did they stay here, according to my knowledge? Until the end of 1981, even until 1982, and prior to that for a longer period—for at least two years they kept traveling into Hungary. They were practically the guests of the Central Committee. [passage omitted: conversation about whether there will be criminal charges against other former party leaders, too] [end recording]

While Andras Benkei's name was not mentioned by Mr. Horvath, MTI did mention it. Therefore, I have called the former minister of the interior, who spontaneously

and briefly described the things heard as: rubbish; nobody can take seriously that as members of Interpol we were supporting terrorism.

To my remark that at the time "Blue Light" [Hungarian crimestoppers television program], too, had shown documents that prior to the events in Vienna airport terrorists lived in Budapest, in the Atrium Hotel, he replied only: In the past, as well as today, there have been Arabs in Budapest and in the country, and even today we cannot know who is hiding where. And by the way, I face the investigation of the supreme public prosecutor without qualms, said former Interior Minister Andras Benkei.

Government Spokesman on Reducing Budget Deficit

LD2606220390 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] After the end of the 26 June parliamentary session, there was an extraordinary government meeting. Before this, government spokesman Balazs Laszlo spoke to our reporter. He said that the subject of the extraordinary session was how the 17, I repeat 17, billion-forint budget deficit could be made up.

[Begin recording] [Laszlo] The Antall government, in the first month of its functioning, has prepared the domestic, the internal, and the external inventories. By now, the overall picture on the basis of which the solution of this year's economic tasks will commence has developed. The first and most important of these is the reduction, the whittling down of the increased deficit of the current balance of payments.

[Unidentified reporter] What means are featured in the submission to patch up the budget deficit? So far we have heard mainly about price increases, tax increases, and the withdrawal of subsidies.

[Laszlo] I can confirm that all of these elements, as they have traditionally, feature among the possible methods this time also. According to plans, the greatest emphasis will be on the reduction of subsidies, primarily the reduction of export subsidies, their withdrawal, but the cessation or the complete withdrawal of tax concessions and tax advantages is also featured. At the same time, to counterbalance the price rises, compensatory measures will also be debated in the submission of the minister of social welfare.

[Reporter] When can these price rises be expected?

[Laszlo] It has not been decided yet, not even in the submission. The planned date for their introduction will probably be sometime during the summer. In the same way, it has not been decided yet, but the introduction of the various social measures is planned in general for 1 August. [end recording]

Finance Ministry Official on Price Increases

AU2606115290 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian
23 Jun 90 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with Finance Ministry State Secretary Katalin Botos by NEPSZAVA reporter Furucz; place and date not given: "The Social Policy Package Is Still Open—Price Increases Only If Absolutely Necessary—State Secretary Katalin Botos on Government Possibilities"]

[Excerpt] Predictions of price increases published in the ESTI HIRLAP [EVENING NEWS] at the beginning of this week have stirred an unexpected storm. Finance Minister Ferenc Rabar denied all this already on the television evening news and said that his words had been misinterpreted. However, debate has been going on all over the country ever since, claiming that this was only a maneuver to divert attention from something that the government is really prepared to do.

There are also well-informed people today. We no longer have to rely on rumors: At the Council of Ministers session scheduled for 26 June, it will be finally decided on how to improve Hungary's financial balance and at least approach the 10 billion-forint budget deficit stipulated by the World Bank.

[Furucz] What possibilities does the government consider?

[Botos] I cannot yet give an exact answer to this question because I only know about the negative measures, but, as Premier Jozsef Antall also pointed out, adequate social policy steps will also accompany these measures. I could give a full picture of the situation if I also informed the readers about these measures. However, this package has not yet been worked out because Jozsef Antall asked us to prepare proposals that contain a larger number of positive measures than originally planned.

[Furucz] You said earlier that the government has basically two possibilities: either cut expenditures or increase government income. In your view, which of the two will play a greater role now?

[Botos] Naturally, the first solution. However, I must add that it is now clear that the former government accepted the 10 billion-forint budget deficit by not providing guarantees through the measures they had planned. Therefore, we must now come up with restrictive measures and make the population and the production sector accept them. Obviously, according to our intentions, we would like to improve the budget balance primarily by reducing subsidies, and we will consider the possibility of increasing our income sources only after we have used all the other possibilities. [passage omitted]

Rabar Reveals Plans for Market Economy*LD2706145890 Budapest MTI in English 1134 GMT
27 Jun 90*

[Text] Budapest, June 27, 1990 (MTI-ECONews)—The Hungarian financial authorities have begun preparations for a speedy transition from the current mixed economy to the market economy, Minister of Finance Ferenc Rabar announced at a press conference in Budapest on Wednesday.

The systems of wages, prices, taxation, subsidies and customs duties are already being revised, and a list of fundamental changes will be worked out later. Experts believe that conditions of an open market economy can be created by next year.

The government has begun accumulating funds needed for the switch-over, with considerable progress already achieved in talks with the BIS [Bank for International Settlements], IMF, the World Bank, and the U.S. Treasury.

Mr Rabar expects the economy to undergo a period of instability during the change-over, but once viable market conditions have been established, financial stability will gradually be restored, leading to a situation whereby the forint may become convertible as early as next year.

Mr Rabar, however, stopped short of giving figures as to the exact amount of financial reserves the Hungarian Government sees as necessary and exactly how convertible Hungary's currency could become.

Secretary of State Katalin Botos suggested that convertibility can only be established gradually, as was the case with Western Europe after the war and therefore only conditions of restricted convertibility can be created next year.

The government has started working out the details of its three-year economic programme, which it hopes will serve as a basis for a medium-range agreement to be reached with IMF.

Mr Rabar said that the Hungarian Government was aware of the risks inherent in the switch-over. One danger is inflation, currently at over 25 per cent. The minister of finance said the government had only monetary means at its disposal to fight inflation and would impose an even tighter monetary policy.

In Mr Rabar's view, in the first stage the 200-300 billion forints of inter-company debts incurred because of a shortage of coverage and which amount to quasi-uncovered purchasing power must be ended, while the budget deficit must be cut drastically so that the budget does not drain credit from the economy.

Industry Minister on Monopolies, Privatization*AU2606123290 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET
in Hungarian 23 Jun 90 p 9*

[Report on interview with Industry and Trade Minister Akos Peter Bod by Janos Budai; place and date not given: "What Can We Do With the Monopolies—Akos Peter Bod on Competition, Privatization, and Ventures"]

[Excerpts] Easing and breaking down the monopolistic economic structure is one of the major steps on the road leading to a market economy. Together with two research colleagues, Akos Peter Bod wrote a study about this in the KOZTARSASAGI SZEMLE [REPUBLICAN REVIEW]. Among other things, the study analyzed the monopolistic structure and effects of the Hungarian processing industry on a theoretical level. We asked Akos Peter Bod now about the practical aspects of this problem.

[Budai] As minister of industry and trade, what do you intend to do against the monopolistic structures.

[Bod] I see three possible solutions. The first: breaking down the monopolies by means of government interference or by the voluntary separation of the organizations in question.

[Budai] What kind of government means are at your disposal for this, because, theoretically correct, the reforms of past years reduced precisely the possibilities of central interference?

[Bod] Setting up a cartel and competition office will provide the possibilities for this. This office will have the right to order forced decentralization after determining the production and marketing structure of a given industrial sector.

[Budai] I presume that the second way of easing these monopolies is to force them into competition.

[Bod] In an open economy, introduction of foreign competition is the most efficient way of doing this. One of the major conclusions of the aforementioned study was that all the changes that have taken place in recent years derive almost exclusively from the import competition. We must continue to make use of this means; however, unfortunately we cannot count on the imports disciplining all the Hungarian producers because, apart from the consequences of our debts, our imports are limited by our exports. [passage omitted]

[Budai] Because of the superiority of monopolies, until the emergence of competition, we should prefer private ventures to state ventures. Is there any possibility for this?

[Bod] The positive evaluation of private ventures is already an accepted idea today. The MDF program also contains this idea and the program of the government coalition also refers to the need of such private ventures. [passage omitted]

[Budai] According to the government program, you intend to reduce the percentage of state property by 20-30 percent in a few years. However, we lack an entrepreneurial and managerial rich, bourgeois middle class. Who then will be the new owners?

[Bod] I think this is the problems of this decade: We want a market economy in a situation in which the middle class cannot grow strong enough, as in a normal society. Without them, it is impossible to carry out privatization, and economic boom depends on privatization. We do not really know how much capital the Hungarian middle and higher classes have. Perhaps they have more capital than we suspect, but so far, they have had no opportunity to invest in such assets as land, enterprises, apartments, or stocks. Instead, the money flowed into gravestones, hard currency, real estate, and luxury cars.

We also consider foreign investors, not only domestic ventures and investors. Today, the percentage of foreign participation in capital investments stands around two-three percent, and in another country, developed similarly to Hungary, this percentage can reach 20-30 percent. However, striving to achieve such percentages, we must also count on domestic political sensitivity. [passage omitted]

[Budai] In the framework of property reform, what role would you attribute to the workers' stocks?

[Bod] In my view, we should not make it too easy to acquire state property, because state property belongs to all of us. In connection with the workers' stocks, I do not see the reason why the people who do not work at a given company should be excluded from acquiring easy-term company stocks. At the same time, there are also psychological effects when one invests money on the stocks of one's own company or another company represented in the stock exchange. Therefore, I support the idea of workers' stocks. [passage omitted]

MDF Official on Party, Parliamentary Activity

AU2606114890 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET
in Hungarian 23 Jun 90 p 4

[Report on interview with Imre Konya, head of the Hungarian Democratic Forum parliamentary faction, by Javorniczky; place and date not given: "The Governing Party Faction Should Support the Government—Imre Konya on the MDF (Hungarian Democratic Forum) Political Concepts"]

[Excerpts] The national conference of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] seemed to be heading for political upheavals or even a party crisis with government consequences, but finally it ended with a declaration of unity. The differences within the party emerged mainly as a result of the agreement signed with the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] that brought the various concepts on the future and direction of the MDF to the surface. Representatives of every concept

expressed their agreement or disagreement in the spirit of Lakitelek. [The founding session of the MDF] What effects can all this have on the future of the MDF, and mostly on the activity of the government and of the parliamentary faction?

[Konya] The main cause of the debates within the MDF is the fact that this movement, which started as a nonparty organization, became a modern European party within a short time, and getting used to the differences between the two types of organizations does not happen overnight, particularly in an organization that started as the political and ideological coalition of people of different ideas who joined forces to change the regime on the broadest national basis possible. Therefore, its members are not mainly focusing on the assertion of party interests but are engaged in politics aimed at achieving national unity. From the very beginning, the MDF has been ready to subordinate direct party interests to compromises and agreements. [passage omitted]

[Javorniczky] The creation of the external conditions of a calm governing activity led to the intensification of contradictions within the party. How do these contradictions affect the activity of your parliamentary faction?

[Konya] The MDF faction members in parliament are bound together by their common will and determination to improve Hungary's fate and not by the party discipline. This is the reason for the inconsistencies that sometimes hinder the faction in taking a uniform position. Time is needed for the deputies who mostly came from individual areas and who are strongly committed to local affairs and for people to better coordinate this mission with the representation of a uniform opinion formulated by the party. We need time for the emergence of a situation in which, if needed, the faction unanimously supports the government. There is hope for this because our deputies do not want to assert individual interests, and they do not think that they are the sole owners of the right solution, but they want to act for Hungary's prosperity according to their convictions. This is the reason for so many interpellations made by MDF deputies and for the different opinions.

[Javorniczky] To what extent can the relations between an MDF-led government and the MDF parliamentary faction be harmonious?

[Konya] In a multiparty parliament, the governing party faction should support the government, and this determines the scope of maneuver of the governing party deputies. However, it is an advantage that a mutual exchange of information can emerge between the government and the deputies: Through the members of its parliamentary faction, the government also learns about the general mood and the way some measures are received by the people, and we also learn about the intentions of the government. [passage omitted]

Local Elections Rescheduled for 30 Sep*LD2706134690 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1300 GMT 27 Jun 90*

[Text] Arpad Goncz, interim president of the republic, has set the date for the local authority elections for 30 September. The head of state changed the date proposed earlier, after consultations with the parliamentary parties.

New Radio Chief Sees No Need To Reorganize*LD2706124890 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 27 Jun 90*

[Text] Csaba Gombár, who has been nominated as chairman of Hungarian Radio, does not consider large-scale reorganization and dismissals necessary. He said at the hearing by the Cultural Committee that he considered the main task to be the political and economic protection of Hungarian Radio—that is to spare the radio from intervention by the parties.

Elemer Hankiss, who has been proposed for the post of Television chairman, will have a hearing before the Cultural Committee this afternoon.

It was also said that Prime Minister Jozsef Antall has entrusted Gyula Kodolanyi with the organization of the 18-member committee supervising the radio and television.

COCOM-U.S. Talks Proceed in Budapest*LD2606124590 Budapest MTI in English 1110 GMT
26 Jun 90*

[Text] Budapest, June 26, 1990 (MTI-ECONews)—Talks are currently under way in Budapest between the US and Hungary on the possible easing of COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] regulations for Hungary.

Following the Washington COCOM talks a few weeks ago, the present Budapest round is concentrating on the question how Hungary can guarantee the legal and technical conditions for items removed from the Cocom list not to be sold to a third country.

A Ministry of International Economic Relations official said Hungary is capable of meeting, within six months, the conditions the COCOM committee had laid down. To prevent re-exports, legal regulations must be made and a nationwide control network established.

'Benefit' Expected*LD2706132690 Budapest MTI in English 1131 GMT
27 Jun 90*

[Text] Budapest, June 27, 1990 (MTI-ECONews)—Following a two-day meeting in Budapest between experts from the Hungarian and the US Governments to

discuss the easing of COCOM curbs on exports of advanced technology to Hungary, the Hungarian Government is to make a statement soon in which it will undertake to observe the COCOM regulations and to seek out and punish offenders.

A licensing office will be set up at the Hungarian Ministry of International Economic Relations later this year which will be responsible for guaranteeing that high-tech products are not re-exported from Hungary to countries banned by the COCOM Committee from importing such goods. A permit will be necessary for any COMOM-listed product to be re-exported.

The licensing system will be similar to systems already operating in other countries and an export license will only be granted if the export deal does not offend COCOM regulations.

Following the setting up of the above guarantee system, which should be in place by the end of the year, Hungary is expected to benefit from further COCOM concessions.

Wheat Purchase Agreement Signed With USSR*LD2606220590 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2000 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Text] In Moscow, an agreement was signed, according to which the Hungarian foreign trade company Agrimpex is going to deliver 315,000 tonnes of wheat with a value of 37,800,000 rubles.

This means that the second half of the 630,000 tonnes of wheat contracted for this year's contingent is sold. According to the news, Moscow is going to buy more Hungarian grain in the autumn and for convertible currency.

Labor Agreement Signed With Belgium*LD2606143390 Budapest MTI in English 1404 GMT
26 Jun 90*

[Text] Budapest, June 26 (MTI)—A Hungarian labour agreement was signed in Budapest on Tuesday [26 June] by Sandor Gyorivanyi, minister of labour, and Luc Van den Brande, minister of labour and social affairs in the Kingdom of Belgium.

Belgium wishes to support Hungary's transition to a market economy also in the field of labour, via, for example, the exchange of experts and providing further training to Hungarian specialist.

Under the agreement, Hungarian state administration experts will be given the opportunity to study the Belgian system of labour contracts and collective talks, as well as the methods aimed at tackling unemployment and questions involved in the protection of workers and their health.

Jaruzelski Resignation Awaits Solidarity 'Signal'

LD260622290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2200 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] There are no plans to overthrow Mazowiecki's government, said Senator Jaroslaw Kaczynski, one of the architects of the Center Accord. Answering questions during a meeting at Poznan University, the senator stressed that Lech Walesa could find himself at the Belweder [Palace] very soon.

Jaroslaw Kaczynski let it be understood that if President Jaruzelski receives a signal from the Solidarity camp, then he will step down from his post. The problem lies not in General Jaruzelski's resignation, the senator said, but in reaching an understanding within the Solidarity camp. Professor Geremek knows perfectly well, Jaroslaw Kaczynski stated, that Walesa has a majority in the National Assembly, and the rest will depend on the professor and his supporters.

Walesa Aide on Citizens Committees

AU2706100790 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
21 Jun 90 pp 1,2

[Interview with Jan Olszewski, deputy chairman of Lech Walesa's Citizens Committee, by Janina Paradowska; place and date not given: "The Citizens Movement Before the Choice"]

[Text] [Paradowska] It is generally considered that the citizens movement has to decide what the movement really stands for, whether it must chose a political option, and if so, what this option is to be. Do you agree?

[Olszewski] This is the choice that now faces the elite of the former opposition. The electoral formula of 1989 was to keep a unified front. It united us in the face of a decisive clash with our political adversary, which at that time seemed to be very strong. Shortly after the elections, it became apparent that the opponent had ceased to exist, and this posed the question how we would divide things up.

[Paradowska] You said that soon after the election the problem of dividing things up appeared. Do you mean after Mazowiecki formed his government?

[Olszewski] After the first few 'honeymoon' months of our joint coalition government activity with the former authorities, we were creating a general program, we held discussions on this subject, which we all attended and were involved in. When the general direction of changes became known and when the team that was to implement this program consolidated itself, the time came to form an alternative team. Seen from this point of view, I consider the process of division as completely natural, and even as somewhat belated. I really do not see any reasons why this process should evolve in an atmosphere of sensation and scandal. The one thing that I find objectionable is the style in which this is being done. I think that it comes from the fact that after 45 years of

communist rule we are just not prepared for the fact that it is quite normal for a government to have an opposition. We have to get used to it.

[Paradowska] You have spoken of an opposition, while Premier Mazowiecki and many other politicians are saying that in the first place we have to buttress the government, because behind the government there is just a void and an absence of any structures whatsoever.

[Olszewski] I consider the statement that there is a void behind the government as a metaphor. The overwhelming part of our society supports the government, although admittedly the government does not have any organized structures that would buttress it. Thus, it is a normal phenomenon that at present, after several months of rule the time has come to create structures which will be the government's political buttress, and structures which in some measure will be oppositionist.

[Paradowska] What do you mean "oppositionist in some measure"?

[Olszewski] Everybody has accepted the general direction that the changes will follow. However, we need a more critical approach to certain elements of the program and the way it is being put into effect. This will be the first stage of this oppositionism. The next stage will be the elaboration of alternative programs, but this is a matter for the future.

[Paradowska] You are a signatory of the Center Accord Declaration, a structure that in a way is an opposition. Many people are asking themselves, why? Why you of all people?

[Olszewski] Because it was the first attempt at forming a grouping that to a certain degree is an opposition, includes a section of our political elite, and is formulating a program of immediate action. I consider the existence of such a grouping as essential.

[Paradowska] The Center Accord describes itself as a center-right movement, but you are considered to hold left-wing views.

[Olszewski] I come from a background that traditionally supported the former Polish Socialist Party, but at this time we have to think practically. I consider that at our present stage we need a political formation that will turn its back on the traditional ideologies and will set out to create a program based on current problems, everyday problems, while at the same time preserving a moderate approach in its postulates taking into account new attitudes and new thinking of the majority of our society that is coming into being. In my opinion, only such a formation can hope to gain wide social support.

[Paradowska] Pragmatism, restraint; these are noble aims, but the Center Accord is being accused of lacking precisely these things.

[Olszewski] I do not agree with most of the accusations. I have said that I do not like the style in which this

unavoidable division is taking place. A section of the elite is treating it as a personal scandal; namely, somebody has actually dared to formulate a program of division, define his position vis-a-vis the most important problems of the country, and is proceeding to shatter the unity of "Solidarity's" elites. I see this process as quite normal. I do not see any undue aggression on the part of the Center Accord. It has not formed any militant units, it is not engaged in a smear campaign, nor is it seen as a movement that uses particularly vitriolic tones.

However, the accusations leveled at some of the Center Accord leaders, especially against the Kaczynski brothers, shows a certain lack of political finesse. I have known them for a long time and remember when they worked, the one in the Workers Defense Committee, and the other in the Free Trade Unions. They were active in small movements and not in the high-profile opposition groupings, that to a certain extent benefited from the protection generated by Western media interest. They worked behind the lines, that was very often more dangerous territory than the front line. They showed courage and character. Today, they are often coming under attack from people who in the 1970's were carving out their political careers on the official, and not the oppositionist, scene. Surely you will admit that it is difficult not to feel surprised by all this.

[Paradowska] You consider the division as unavoidable and necessary. Thus, are we to have the old Non-Party Block for Cooperation with the Government [BBWR] against the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] situation?

[Olszewski] Do you consider that the Center Accord is a kind of PRON? This would be a complete misunderstanding. These labels are used to diminish the importance of various initiatives. We have the Center Accord, and there is the Alliance for Democracy. The Center Accord has a distinct program. The Alliance for Democracy, as far as I see it, does not have any precise program of its own, other than a general declaration of support for the government. But do the people really know what the government's program is?

[Paradowska] The Center Accord's program is the so-called acceleration. This too lacks some precision.

[Olszewski] As I have already said, we are all agreed on the general direction of reforms. The difference lies in the fact that the government has adopted a certain style of implementing this program; a slow and careful style. The Center Accord considers that the "roundtable" agreement is no longer valid and the government ought to draw the conclusions from this fact. Additionally, we have to give faster priority to certain aspects of this program, such as privatisation and its restructuring. After the rapid containment of hyperinflation, we now find ourselves standing still in many vital matters, where very little, or even nothing is happening. The Center Accord considers that much more should be happening. However, the Alliance for Democracy—I wish it all the

best, because the formation of such groupings can only be in the best interest of Polish democracy—is mainly declaring its confidence in the government. This too is some sort of program, but I must indicate that mere expressions of confidence in a person, or people can only be the beginning, and thus, the Alliance is still a movement of a personal character. I hope that it will elaborate its own political program. Until that happens, I consider its formation as being a response to the formation of the Center Accord.

[Paradowska] We are holding this interview before the happening of the next important event, namely, the meeting of Lech Walesa's Citizens Committee. In your opinion will this committee survive the storm or has it already become superfluous?

[Olszewski] Its members will decide whether it survives, or not. At present, it is a rather enigmatic creature. It is neither Lech Walesa's advisory council, nor is a meeting place of friends. If it survives, then it ought to get some defined status, become more independent, and become independent of its patron. Above all, I think that the committee is necessary as a vehicle of political dialogue, a forum for discussing the rules concerning the building of Polish democracy. If it were to have such functions it would fulfill a useful function. Its members will decide whether it survives, and if so, what form it will take.

Solidarity Chapters Criticize Government Policies

AU2706101190 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 23-24 Jun 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "'Solidarity' Chapters Against Price Hikes, In Favor of 'Acceleration'"]

[Excerpts] "The great political opportunity that was won when the Polish United Workers Party dissolved itself and a partner of the roundtable accords disappeared has not been taken advantage of. The government is still discharging its obligations vis-a-vis a partner which no longer exists. These obligations have become a political anachronism," we read in a stance adopted by "Solidarity's" Gdansk chapter on Thursday. In its authors' opinion, the government's policies are allowing the nomenklatura to misappropriate public property, hold on to their leadership posts, and calmly destroy documents concerning crimes committed by the militia, military, and party apparatus. The Gdansk chapter also calls for the dismissal of those ministers who have failed to fulfill society's expectations. [passage omitted]

"Milieus of people belonging to the postcommunist nomenklatura and National Trade Union Confederation are preying on the not-always-popular decisions of the Mazowiecki government," writes "Solidarity's" Silesia-Dabrowa chapter in a resolution issued on Friday. "Some 'Solidarity' members are also becoming dissatisfied. Uncontrolled social unrest is becoming a reality. Lech Walesa's proposals to accelerate the political and economic reforms are essential and call for abandoning

the roundtable accord. Rendering Lech Walesa our support, we realize that he is guided purely by the good of our union and fatherland."

In its resolution issued on 21 June, "Solidarity's" Lodz chapter writes: "A considerable part of society is already living on the poverty line, and the average family now spends over 60 percent of its income on food. A further reduction in the standard of living of working people and pensioners might cause incalculable social consequences." [passage omitted]

In its resolution issued on 22 June, the Greater Poland chapter of "Solidarity" states that the announced increases in the price of milk, cottage cheese, postal services, radio and television license fees, and energy are unacceptable, and demands that these increases be extended over a longer period of time. "Society must be given a clear vision of the economic changes foreseen until the end of the year, and it must know what further burdens it can expect if these changes are carried through," says the resolution.

Walesa-Mazowiecki Accord Said Crucial for Nation

AU2606114390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
22 Jun 90 pp 1, 3

[Jacek Moskwa commentary: "Mazowiecki-Walesa"]

[Text] Poland's political life has entered a hot phase as a result of the emergence of more distinct political trends within the "Solidarity" camp. Also the subject of disputes is the speed and extent of the changes throughout Poland. Generally, in the eyes of a confused society, there appears to be a struggle for the future shape of the movement of citizens committees and for leadership over these committees, whereas on a more personal level the struggle looks like a contest between "Solidarity" chairman Lech Walesa and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

It is completely natural that one's view of politics is colored by the people who represent it. However, I think most of the voters who chose our path of fundamental economic and political changes in the 4 June election are deeply worried about the slightest sign of a dispute. For any observer of the Polish political scene, whether he is living in Poland or abroad, it is obvious that only a Mazowiecki-Walesa duo is capable of guaranteeing the continuity of the unprecedented break with real socialism and the new course toward a world ruled by democracy and a free market.

Such a view does not mean one should create some kind of artificial political unity. I repeat, divisions, and even a struggle for power, are quite normal in politics, for without them there can be no democracy. However, if there is an artificial unity, there are also unnatural divisions. That is the situation in June 1990, only six months after the start of the economic reform, which began with such promise. What we now have is an open

conflict between the government and a part of its political base that should really support it.

Of course, one can treat the whole crisis as a display of personal ambitions, which is what many people are maliciously doing in any case. But such a view is not defensible. Wojciech Lamentowicz, the political scientist, told our paper a few days ago: "It is not true that the only people on Walesa's side are the two Kaczynski brothers." To make things clear, Lech Walesa has a mandate issued by the only organized political force in Poland, "Solidarity," therefore everyone who is concerned about the continuation of the Mazowiecki government should try to dispel the tension between Walesa and Mazowiecki, instead of increasing it.

And yet people on both sides are doing exactly the opposite. I think Mazowiecki's worst allies are those who think the best way of building up the premier's prestige is to cite Walesa's remarks in order to diminish Walesa's prestige, just as it seems senseless for those in support of Walesa's candidature for the presidency to believe that the best way of guaranteeing Walesa's success is to attack the government, for the formation of which Walesa is himself jointly responsible.

However, the issue involves more than just propaganda. The basically correct idea of building a stronger political base for the present government has turned out to be a source of conflicts, for it does not seem possible to create such a base out of a citizens' committee movement that is divided, leaving out "Solidarity" and in opposition to Walesa.

I think all those who try to reestablish the accord between Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Lech Walesa, the two people who symbolize the peaceful Polish revolution, are rendering Poland a great service. Walesa's latest speech in Wejherowo may be viewed as a confirmation of such a hope.

PSL's Jagielinski on Walesa-PSL-SD Meeting

AU2606142390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
21 Jun 90 p 3

[Interview with Roman Jagielinski, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Polish Peasant Party, PSL, by Wojciech Krawczyk during a break in the meeting of the PSL Deputies Club in Warsaw on 20 June]

[Text] [Krawczyk] Does the meeting in Gdansk mean that the PSL has decided to join Lech Walesa's presidential campaign. A campaign that has been launched by the Center Accord?

[Jagielinski] We have not joined any coalition that has the above as its aim, but we could do so at a moment's notice, if it serves not just Lech Walesa's interests, but Polish interests as well.

[Krawczyk] What will be in the political contract that you intend to conclude with the "Solidarity" chairman, and the Democratic Party [SD]?

[Jagielski] We will discuss this at the signing, which may be in some six months. In any case, we have similar views to Lech Walesa and the SD on the situation in the country and the way in which to lead Poland out of the crisis.

[Krawczyk] Several days ago Roman Bartoszcze told RZECZPOSPOLITA that the PSL is trying to keep somewhere in the middle between Walesa and Mazowiecki. In the light of latest developments it does not look like it....

[Jagielski] About one month ago we talked with the premier and explained to him what we could offer and our desire to cooperate, as well as propositions on staffing policy in the voivodships, and changes in the agricultural situation. In response, the police was sent against the peasants.

[Krawczyk] What then is your attitude to the government?

[Jagielski] The government ought to consider the underlying principles of its latest political, social, and economic decisions that it has addressed to farmers. Above all, it ought to decisively increase the tempo of change, because the public's patience has come to an end.

[Krawczyk] You mentioned that the Polish political scene is being monopolized. By whom?

[Jagielski] By the Citizens Committees, which are subordinated to the Citizens Parliamentary Club. They are assuming the structure of the former Polish United Workers Party committee network. We are waiting for a full differentiation of political tendencies in the Citizens Committees to emerge. Let some of them remain with the centrist line of Lech Walesa, and the others join with the social democrats, and the secular left of the Citizens Parliamentary Club.

Walesa Spokesman Says TV 'Removed' Statement

LD2606184290 Warsaw PAP in English 1806 GMT
26 Jun 90

[Text] Gdansk, June 26—"In a report on debates of the Citizens' Committee at the Solidarity leader, aired by Polish TV at prime time following a news bulletin and before a match on June 25, the most important statement made by Lech Walesa and polemical to Jerzy Turowicz was removed," Lech Walesa's press spokesman Jaroslaw Kurski said in a statement sent to PAP.

Turowicz was an initiator of the alternative idea of the Movement of Citizens' Committees and signatory of the letter of 63 to Walesa on dissolution of the Committee at the Solidarity leader.

"In this connection", the spokesman continued, "I have a right to suppose that the statement was omitted on

purpose with a view to discrediting Lech Walesa and presenting him as a person in whose favour no political reason speak.

"This fact confirms the principle that a monopolist TV in the hands of one political decision-maker is not able to guarantee broadcasts conforming to the rules of journalistic honesty," Walesa's spokesman opined.

Miodowicz on 'Brutal Attack' Against OPZZ TU's

LD2606181990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1400 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Solidarity has accused the National Trade Union Accord [OPZZ] of seizing its assets of 1980-81. This was also discussed during the last meeting of the Citizens Committee attached to Lech Walesa. Here is what the head of the OPZZ, Alfred Miodowicz, had to say:

[Begin Miodowicz recording] A brutal attack on the OPZZ trade unions has begun, a political attack. It is difficult to accuse us of anything. We defend the interests of the working people. We do not indulge in party fights. So, one looks for some sort of subject, which is assets apparently seized from Solidarity. I wish to declare, in full conscience, that the OPZZ took over these assets in July 1985, and since then it can answer for them. The assets were scattered, if one can speak of assets at all, in 600 units. We were the third group to make use of these assets; thus there were only bits left.

I would also like to recall one more thing: More than 60 percent of the whole of our membership, the members of the OPZZ trade union, are former members of Solidarity from the years 1980-1981, with Miodowicz among them. And now, at the present time, we have more of those members from those years than the Solidarity trade union of the Walesa camp. [end recording]

Mazowiecki Meets OKP Presidium Members

LD2606215290 Warsaw PAP in English 2009 GMT
26 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 26—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki today met with chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club (OKP) Bronislaw Geremek and with members of OKP Presidium.

During the meeting, interlocutors discussed the origins of social conflicts, problems of personnel changes in the state apparatus, especially at a local level, and the situation in the Interior Ministry.

The sides also discussed tensions linked with the functioning of Polish radio and television. OKP Presidium appealed to the prime minister for taking energetic measures in this regard.

OPZZ Leader Denies Solidarity Assets 'Seizure'

LD2606214390 Warsaw PAP in English 1907 GMT
26 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 26—We must really put an end to myths on the alleged illegal seizure of Solidarity assets by the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ), Alfred Miodowicz, OPZZ leader, told a press conference.

He recalled that the assets conveyed to the OPZZ in July, 1985, had been earlier in the hands of voivodes and their plenipotentiaries as well as a government commission. Not earlier than in July, 1985, the remains of much devastated assets were put at the disposal of the OPZZ. Over 600 firms had been in control of this property before we took it over, Miodowicz stated.

Those who accuse us of a theft should remember whom OPZZ unions group. More than 65 percent of Solidarity members from the years 1980-81 are members of the OPZZ today. In fact, there are more former solidarity members in our ranks than in the camp of Mr Walesa, Miodowicz said.

In reply to questions posed by newsmen the OPZZ leader stated:

Unemployment is a great drama of hundreds of thousands of families. As concerns others, fear of dismissals is growing. By OPZZ estimates we will have over two million of jobless persons at the end of this year, and the government is not prepared to face such a big scale phenomenon.

The OPZZ estimates that price hikes planned as of July 1 will be followed by an increased spending of a four-person family by 100 thousand zlotys and a fall in the population's incomes by 10 percent.

The OPZZ demands that the Balcerowicz Plan be corrected with an eye to stopping a drop in production and the population's incomes and to curbing unemployment.

Communique on Citizens Committees Viewed

AU2606161790 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
22 Jun 90 p 3

["D.P."-signed report: "What Kind of Committees?"]

[Text] The secretariat created during the 17 June conference of citizens committees has issued a communique suggesting that a federation of citizens committees be formed, consisting of those committees that apply to join it. Such committees would preserve their autonomy. The supreme body of this federation would be a national citizens conference or national citizens convention, which would have no executive power over local committees. This supreme body's only function would be the issue of statements, the formulation of joint opinions, and the presentation of proposals. Its task would be to initiate debates on the identity of the citizens movement and its place in the country's political life, internal structures, and programs of action; as well as to permit

an exchange of experience between individual committees and organize mutual assistance. Furthermore, such a body would initiate debates within the movement on important national topics, encourage and support contacts between "Solidarity" representatives in the government and parliament, and between "Solidarity" bodies, and exert pressure on the government for the sake of democratic changes.

A conference or convent would consist of one or two people from each voivodship, elected either for a certain term of office, or only for the duration of a particular meeting.

A conference or convent would hold periodic meetings prepared by three deputy chairmen, appointed from among its members. These deputy chairmen would be backed by an advisory team and problems committees. Each conference or convention would be headed by a permanent bureau. The secretariat invited L. Walesa and T. Mazowiecki to participate in meetings.

At the same time, the communique says that Aleksander Krzeszowski and Antoni Tokarczuk, previously appointed to the secretariat, have now resigned from it.

Krzysztof Snopinski from the Citizens Committee told RZECZPOSPOLITA that Krzeszowski and Tokarczuk had disagreed with the conduct and procedures pursued by the secretariat, which they said is trying to decide on the shape and functions of the citizens movement before the conference. The secretariat, said Snopinski, had tried to impose biased political connections on the citizens movement, which they objected to. As a result, they will attend the meeting convened by Lech Walesa and Zdzislaw Najder.

Commenting his decision, Antoni Tokarczuk, said: "I thought it would be possible to discuss all issues and ask any question, without suggesting any solutions in advance. In my opinion, the secretariat has exceeded its powers by deciding in advance on a model to be followed, without presenting any alternatives. I think Walesa is still being treated unfairly, because attempts are being made to exclude him from talks. I am against the formation of national structures and leaving talks about the purpose of these structures until a later date. Support for this government without any criticism will be suicidal, both for Walesa and the citizens movement. The citizens committees were born out of various ways of thinking and various political options. That is why it is not possible to appease the various political and ideological streams inside the Citizens Committee by imposing uniformity on it. It is necessary to highlight existing differences and conflicts, and only then will it be possible to take constructive decisions.

Wojciech Borowik, Wojciech Onyszkiewicz, and Krzysztof Sieminski, the three organizers of the conference of Citizens Committee representatives on 17 June, explain in a statement given to RZECZPOSPOLITA that they were surprised at the news that "Solidarity" chairman Lech Walesa and Zdzislaw Najder, chairman

of Walesa's Citizens Committee, had decided to convene a "conference of representatives of all voivodship citizens groups" on 30 June.

They explain that on 17 June, the delegates of the Citizens Committee had decided to hold their next meeting on 1 July. Having invited Mazowiecki and Walesa to attend that day, and thus underscoring their loyalty, they also emphasize the right for local citizens committees to be represented at this meeting. No federation was created at this meeting because of the need to discuss this idea with all local committees. The meeting had also expressed a desire to cooperate with both the government and "Solidarity."

In the meantime, a "Notice" signed by Walesa and Najder reached the Citizens Committees on Wednesday, 20 June. In it, they state their decision to convene a conference of "formally elected representatives of all voivodship citizens groups" on 30 June, adding that "a mandate commission appointed by the chairman of the Citizens Committee will check the legality of the election of these representatives." In the "Notice," we read that it is necessary to establish rules by which local committees can be represented at national level so as to ensure the local committees' independence and participation in political life.

According to the authors of the statement, this brief notice only apparently invites representatives of local committees to take part in political life for the sake of their independence, for the notice actually questions this independence. Who authorized the chairman of Walesa's Citizens Committee to appoint a mandate commission? The local committees? Which one of them, and when?

The authors of the statement said that the contents of the "notice" leave no doubt as to who the head of these "independent" representation of local committees is to be. It is to be Zdzislaw Najder, who reserves for himself the right (granted by whom and when?) to decide on the limits of this independence. Only a few weeks ago, Najder questioned the need to create any national representations of citizens committees, but following the 17 June conference, he concluded that it is worth having such a representation. Therefore, he is building one on his own, for what else can the purpose of reserving for himself exclusive rights to "check the legality of the elections" be, coupled with the fact that he has ignored the fact that local, committee activists had already decided to meet on 1 July?

This is all the more curious because both Najder and Walesa, not to mention Prime Minister Mazowiecki, have been invited to this 1 July meeting. Such a nervous and hasty reaction shows that the authors of the "Notice" were guided not by a desire to guarantee the "independence" of local committees, but by a desire to further their own interests. Once again, conclude Borowik, Onyszkiewicz, and Siemienski, we can see that

it is the committees themselves that should decide on the future and forms of activity of the citizens movement. Will that be the case?

State of Armed Forces Examined

AU2606125090 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC
in Polish 22 Jun 90 pp 12, 13

[Ewa Wilk article: "The State of the Army"]

[Text] Some people have already written that the Polish Army is armed with clubs. Less radical pessimists are claiming that at least 70 percent of its equipment consists of hopeless antiques which should be replaced immediately. Skeptics claim that the state of the Army reflects the state of the country in terms of resources and modernity. Optimists are not saying anything at all.

General of Division Tadeusz Kusmierski, chief inspector of military technology, is one of the skeptics. He believes that between 35 and 38 percent of the Polish Army's equipment belongs to the latest generation. In NATO countries, 50 percent of their equipment belongs to this category—the last word in military technology.

Obviously, no two things are the same. Is the T-72 tank equivalent to the FRG Leopard 2 tank? Is the MiG-29 the same as the U.S. F-16? Top experts on the subject of disarmament are racking their brains over this question, but there is a precise feature common to both types of tank. Polish arms experts claim that the T-72, equipped with computers and lasers, should hit the enemy the first time, which places it on a par with the Leopard. However, some military men maintain that in battle conditions such as the Iraq-Iran war, in which Gen. Kusmierski claims to have participated, the T-72 fails to confirm this wonderful accuracy.

Perhaps comparisons of this sort are absurd, just as the terrible vicious circle that has gripped the world at the end of the 20th century—a race to perfect the art of killing—is absurd. On this side of the world, the moral and logical absurdity has reached its zenith. After all, the enormous armed colossus of the Soviet bloc was merely used to keep the empire under control and aid in its expansion, whatever the "defense" doctrines used to say. In the West, military technology has been ahead of civilian technology. In the Soviet system, the obsession about military secrets turned the entire military sphere into a parasite that sucked the blood out of the already emaciated economies. In this context, is it at all possible to provide a fair assessment of the Polish Army? Let us try.

Secrets of a Diarist

So what is the Polish Army like? Is it modern or antiquated? How have 40 years of being stuck inside the armor of the Warsaw Pact affected its resources and technology? Is Poland a significant arms producer, or is it just a cog in the Soviet machine? Has it managed to

shape an independent army on the sidelines of imperialist power, or would it simply cease to exist if the ties linking it to the Soviet military armaments industry and military complex were severed?

Sixty-four percent of Polish equipment is made in Poland. Twenty years ago, the armaments industry carried out a kind of breakthrough. According to a 30-page brochure entitled "The Polish Army—Facts and Figures" recently published by the Ministry of National Defense (until quite recently, such a publication would have been considered a betrayal of state secrets), about 80 enterprises are manufacturing weapons, ammunition, tanks, training aircraft, helicopters, motor boats, communications equipment, and electronic guidance systems. Several enterprises devote most of their capacity to arms production: "Bumar" in Labedy; the Stalowa Wola Steelworks; "Mesko" in Skarzysko Kamienna; the transportation plants in Swidnik and Mielec; and the Northern and Vistula Shipyards. Poland has indulged in the arms trade in the past, and is still doing so. Military men today are fond of quoting two figures: the potential of the armaments industry out of the potential of the whole of Polish industry, which is 3 percent; and the percentage of arms exports out of total Polish exports, as much as 6.6 percent. Recently it has become tactful to boast about these figures.

However, Poland possesses no significance at all on the world armaments market. It is not among the top 15 arms exporters, but it is one of the top arms importers. Its arms exports are sinking. With its export capability of 25 tanks per year, Poland could occupy an important position, but the demand has sunk drastically. Poland's main clients—Czechoslovakia and the GDR—have reduced their demand practically to zero. And because even we cannot afford our own tanks, the manufacture thereof is going to drop to 30 per year within the next few years.

Therefore, the idea of financial windfalls earned by weapons production, justified by the arguments that everyone in the world produces weapons and by the principle pursued by our foreign trade whereby weapons are not sold to countries where there are conflicts, is a downright myth.

We know that Poland could only produce as many armaments as the USSR required. In the case of tanks, Poland could only produce them in accordance with the licenses the USSR wished to sell. We know that it is meaningless to produce certain products, such as fighter aircraft, and it will be so for a long time. We know that Poland will never be granted access to modern technology, neither in the East nor in the West. We also know that apart from radio direction-finding equipment which is purchased even by the West, Polish designs will for a long time be unable to break through the barrier of Polish industry's electronic and technological backwardness.

However, we also know that in the past, the Polish Army has made thousands of useless purchases. It has bought incomplete sets of equipment from its industrialized allies "at a discount," convinced that they would never be used in combat. Licenses were bought which lacked several minor yet vital details. Poland abandoned its own modern solutions for purely political reasons.

The Allied Exchange

The sphere which illustrates the above situation admirably is command, control, and communications, a department professionally known as C31, considered to be the nerve center of a modern army. In this sphere, the Polish Army is, if not in the Middle Ages, than at least at World War II level, and is not even capable of comprehending how electronic systems in Western armies work.

Could things have been otherwise? Eugeniusz Tomisia attempted to answer this question on the basis of a conversation he held with Col. Jozef J. Pawelec: "In the 1960's, the Military Institute of Communications developed the modern 'Kania' shortwave radio station. The Kasprzak radio plant even set up a production line to manufacture it. And when everything was ready, a party-government delegation (not a military delegation) went to Moscow to hold talks with Kosygin. As a result, the Polish Army was given the incomparably inferior 'Polosa' equipment."

In 1972, a similar fate befell the "Kaczeniec" radio equipment developed jointly with the Warsaw Polytechnic. This system was a revelation. It permitted data to be transmitted 20 times faster than before and in secret code. A class-two state award was granted. The USSR praised the equipment and deployed it in communications between Berlin and Moscow. But Poland was immediately offered the Soviet T-206 and 207 equipment. This was put into use in the Polish Army and it promptly began to break down.

Soon afterwards, the partly Polish "Storczyk" program of putting messages into code collapsed. Once again, a Soviet delegation showered praise on Poland, but it declared that this development had come about too soon. "Storczyk's" place was taken by the Soviet "Osnova." A real exchange.

The reason behind this state of affairs was the Soviet fear of giving Poland access to super secret centers of allied or Soviet command. Also responsible for this state of affairs was the toadyism of our leadership, spokesmen for the "interests" of the coalition, and the entire system itself, which, in every single sphere—science, industry, and military administration—gave preference to servile, weak, and cowardly people.

How Much, and for How Much?

So what kind of weapons does Poland have? At the beginning of 1989, it had 3,330 tanks. Today this number should be about 400 less, for that is the number

of tanks due to be eliminated. The modernized T-55A(M) is in the same class as the T-72 was in 1978. The last "classic" T-55 series was removed from the production lines in 1975. Modernizing this type of tank is euphemistically described as "exceedingly expensive."

The T-34 tank, the last veteran of World War II, was withdrawn from production only five years ago. As recently as the 1970's, about 200 tanks were exchanged every year. Today, only 50 old tanks are replaced with new ones. Why? Because of the terrible and rapidly rising costs. In January 1989, a T-72 tank cost 280 million zlotys [Z]. At the end of 1989, it cost almost Z1 billion. This year one should expect this price to increase by a factor of 2.5.

Aircraft are bought from the USSR. There are 20 types of aircraft, including helicopters, in use in the Polish Armed Forces. The MiG-29 fighter and SU-22 fighter bomber are valuable on account of their modernity. These latest types are astronomically expensive (the MiG-29 costs Z28 billion), and are surrounded by controversy in any case. Some pilots remember how in 1979, during the signing of an order for SU-22's, experts said that this aircraft would be out of date in 10 years' time. Indeed, it is equivalent to what the West produced back in 1965. It is the same with the MiG-21, the Air Force's basic fighter aircraft. This aircraft was last modernized in the late 1960's and early 1970's.

The infantry moves around in three types of transporters. It possesses several types of artillery equipment

with colorful names like "Dana" (a howitzer-cannon), "Gozdzik" (a self-propelled howitzer), and "Malutka" and "Strzala" (antiaircraft rocket launchers).

The Navy boasts many different types of vessels, but when making comparisons with Western navies, only three individual submarines are ever mentioned, one of which, called the "Orzel," possesses a greater value. We also have one Soviet destroyer, which has rendered good service.

With Whom Should one Make Comparisons?

Poland has 314,000 men in arms, similar to Great Britain (311,200). The British have twice as many aircraft. The Poles have 33 percent more tanks. But Great Britain has an extra 28 surface vessels.

Someone will say that this comparison is meaningless because of the different political and strategic significance of the two countries. So let us try to compare Poland with Denmark or the Netherlands. These two countries have three times less men in their armed forces and, except for ships, also three times less equipment.

After the Soviet Army, which numbers 2.5 million, the Polish Army is the largest in the Warsaw Pact. But in terms of equipment, it has the same quantity as the numerically much smaller armies of Czechoslovakia, the GDR, and Romania. Here is a simplified table extracted from the data published by the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee at the beginning of the year:

	Poland	UK	Netherlands	CSFR	GDR	Romania
Size of Army (Thousands)	314	311.2	101	199.7	173	171
Airplanes	480	835	200	407	307	380
Helicopters	43	700	20	101	74	220
Tanks	3330	2000	1250	4585	3140	3200
Submarines	3	28	5	—	—	1
Large surface ships	—	66	17	—	—	1

An Expensive Game Of Soldiers

Just as the size of our Army (0.8 percent of the total population) conforms to the general norm, so too does the percentage of arms expenditures out of the budget, 3 percent, conform to the accepted norm. The percentage of arms expenditures out of the total budget is similar in the following countries: Belgium, the FRG, the Netherlands, Norway, and Portugal. France spends more (3.7 percent of its budget), as does Great Britain (4.2 percent), Turkey (3.9 percent), and Greece, which holds the record with 6 percent. Denmark, Canada, Luxembourg, and Spain economize on their arms expenditures, with the percentage out of their state budgets hovering from slightly below to slightly above 2 percent.

But when one converts these percentages to figures, it turns out that, for example, France spends 30 times as much as we do. Our Ministry of National Defense describes the Z11 trillion 1990 military budget as a

"survival budget." However, a curb on military spending must give rise to a regression in the structure of the Army. Normally, a disproportionately large amount of money (60 percent of the Army's income) is spent on the so-called preservation of the numerical status, but only 20 percent is spent on armaments and equipment. At the same time, it should be noted that a 5-percent increase in spending on armaments does not mean we will have 5 percent more modern equipment. The price of equipment which really is modern is soaring astronomically.

Exactly how much the modern game of soldiers costs is shown in the following list:

One hour in a MiG-29—Z18 million.
One hour in a MiG-21—Z9 million.
One km in a T-72 tank—Z170,000.
One km in a T-55A(M) tank—Z55,000.
One hour in a missile cruiser—Z7.2 million.

One antiaircraft missile—from Z140 million to Z320 million.
One antitank missile—from Z8 to Z13 million.
One artillery shell—Z248,000.

So if anyone should ever watch an antitank missile go off during an exercise, let him realize that what has just exploded costs as much as a tiny Fiat. And if we meet a fighter pilot, let us realize that he has at least 120 hours of flying experience, which means he is worth more than his weight in gold.

The Meanderings of Restructuring

Today, these "bags of gold" are being sent back to civilian life, just like thousands of other professional soldiers. Last year the number of soldiers fell by 33,000. This year another 10,000 will go. Tanks, armored carriers, artillery pieces, and mortars are destined to become scrap metal. Last October there was talk of withdrawing 80 aircraft from service, disbanding 68 military units, and reforming 147 others. For conscripts, restructuring means a happy curtailment of military service down to 18 months. For professional soldiers, it means civilian life. For the armaments industry, it means a conversion of production, which is in a miserable state apart from giants like the Stalowa Wola Steelworks and "Bumar." Gen. Kusmierski says that in Krakow and Poznan there are seeding machines and cement mixers which no one wants to buy, and in Glowno, which was linked to the Ursus tractor plant, there are rows of Ferguson tractor cabins which cannot be sold. Armaments enterprises cannot be converted to civilian production instantly; investments and purchases are required. But the old financial concessions no longer exist, today we are in a period in which money is hard to come by. Some of these enterprises are tragically outdated. In Skarzysko, women are still manufacturing gunpowder by the same methods that were used when it was invented. They mix it with spoons, and that is no joke.

But there is also a pathological side to the restructuring. Today's army is like a giant department store. In it, one can buy anything from a rifle barrel to a tank or helicopter. Gen. Kusmierski says with a smile that some ancient objects have actually been sold to the West. There seems to be a fashion in the West for things like a Warsaw Pact aircraft, which one can display in front of one's house for a mere \$60,000.

Last year, withdrawn military equipment was sold to farmers, and later to professional soldiers who were returning to civilian life. These people bought it on a priority basis, and at a discount.

One can buy a Tatra truck minus its military equipment for Z1.8 million, whereas its value on the market, which attracts any piece of junk that has four wheels, is Z30 million.

A jeep is purchased in a distant corner of Poland for Z250,000, but as soon as it has been driven out through the gates of the army unit it can be sold for Z2.5 million. It is even better to drive it to Warsaw, where a prearranged purchaser will give Z5 million for it on the spot.

The Army remains an enclave where the old order and old customs survive. Only six months ago, the former chief of the Main Political Administration praised the fact that 75 percent of the Army's professional cadres and 100 percent of its leadership cadres belonged to the party.

The Danger of Building Danger

The Army's central institutions, staffs, and commands are greatly overinflated. The arrival of new deputy ministers does not seem to have stopped the carousel of posts and promotions. Two deputy ministers of national defense are not much when there at least 16 leadership posts in the Polish Army. The rapid promotions to higher ranks of general meted out on 9 May of this year have caused a lot of ill feeling. A personal analysis of this operation, supplied to us by a man who wishes to remain anonymous, clearly suggests that the main criterion for accelerated promotion was loyalty to the commander in chief of the Armed Forces of the Polish Republic [Jaruzelski].

The draft law on military service for professional soldiers is experiencing birth pains inside the Army. Some people claim that work on this law is deliberately being delayed so that the present convenient state of limbo can be kept for as long as possible.

All of these things together mean that our not-too-strong Army is becoming even weaker. It has no money to spend, is hampered by the poverty of the entire country, and in addition it is being weakened from the inside. Will it really be possible to fulfill within the next few years the plan to make 50 percent of the Army professional?

No one doubts that we will become a military power. However, we have two clear objectives: first, to transform the Army in such a way that it is capable of fighting solely on Polish territory, and purely for the purpose of Poland's effective defense; and second to transform the Warsaw Pact in such a way that, in the words of Ministers Skubiszewski and Onyszkiewicz, the Pact will become a real coalition, and not an extension of Soviet Army structures to other countries.

For the time being, it is not clear whether the Army with its present leadership is ready for such changes, or whether it will remain the way it was, a component of the Soviet empire, an army actually incapable of guaranteeing Poland's security apart from the so-called internal security.

Armed Forces Suicide Rate Statistics

AU2606212790 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ
RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ
in Polish 20 Jun 90 pp 1, 3

[Irena Baczynska article: "Suicides— What Is the True Picture?"]

[Excerpts] Today, when everything that pertains to military life and its internal workings is made more accessible to public opinion, people, quite understandably, are

interested in those problems which society was not informed about in the past, or, if it was, this was done with great restraint.

One should not be surprised that the tragic events of the last month—namely, the atrocity in the Zegrz Officer School, the suicide of a soldier who deserted from his military unit in Walcz, and the slaying of his in-laws by a young officer in Warsaw—have produced a torrent of questions and speculations: What is happening in the Armed Forces? [passage omitted]

In PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY (number 24, 17 June 1990), Andrzej Szmak wrote, among other things: "An obedient and disciplined Army is always and always has been a mechanism that destroys those people who are not able to adapt, or do not want to adapt. What is the price of this? What are the numbers of the one and of the other category? This is a gray area about which we rarely hear. [This is] a number that remains carefully concealed. Perhaps we would get some idea of these numbers if we had some idea of the annual suicide rate in the Armed Forces." [passage omitted]

On average, every fifth death in the Army that occurs as a result of an accident, or an unfortunate incident, is the result of a suicide attempt. The following are the number of soldiers who committed suicide during their basic military service in the last five years: 71 in 1985; 63 in 1986; 59 in 1987; 58 in 1988; and 41 in 1989. Among the number of those who committed suicide, soldiers serving their first year of military service predominate. They form some 75 percent of the total number of suicides. This is a fact which is very telling, because one can speculate on a direct link between the cause of suicide and the problem of adjusting to military service, although the views of experts on the subject are somewhat divided as to the importance of this particular factor on the decision to commit suicide and the carrying out of the attempt on one's life. [passage omitted]

In 1989, 30 soldiers on basic military service committed suicide while on base; seven committed suicide while on leave, or holiday; and four did so while absent without leave. Of these deaths, 21 were hangings; 16 were shootings; and two were poisonings. Two soldiers committed suicide by throwing themselves from a great height. [passage omitted]

National Defense Budget 'Austerity Measures'

LD2606215790 Warsaw PAP in English 2003 GMT
26 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 26—The Sejm (Lower House) National Defence Committee today accepted the report on the budget of the Ministry of National Defence in 1989 with 11 votes for and five abstentions.

Representatives of the Ministry of National Defence said that due to the rise of prices last year, the very modest budget, termed as the budget of survival, imposed various austerity measures on the ministry.

Last year some 70 units were disbanded, the man power of the Army was reduced by 33,000 servicemen. Some 12,000 career soldiers, including 26 generals, 690 colonels and some 1,300 lieutenant colonels retired.

Restructuring has also its negative side effects like the fact that at the end of the year, some 5,000 career soldiers will have no assignment.

Last year some 60 per cent of the ministry's budget was spent on the maintenance of soldiers including food, salaries, medical service, accommodation, and uniforms. Whereas only slightly more than 20 per cent was allocated for the purchases of weapons and military equipment.

A T-72 tank today is some 2.5 billion zlotys and an anti-tank missile is some 14 million zlotys. Therefore, it is not only impossible to change the structure of this year's budget but the planned tasks require another 1 trillion 300 billion zlotys more, it was said.

Security Service Vetting Commission Appointed

AU2606141090 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
21 Jun 90 p 3

["J.O."-signed report: "They Will Vet the Security Service"]

[Text] The prime minister has formed a Central Qualification Commission to carry out appraisals of former Security Service personnel.

In accordance with the relevant legislation, these people can be employed by the newly created bodies, such as the Office for the Protection of the State [UOP] and the police, as well as by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, only after receiving a positive assessment from the appropriate qualification commission. Such an assessment is issued after formal investigations have been completed.

The Central Qualification Commission will be chaired by UOP Director Krzysztof Kozlowski. The following people are to be members of the commission: Minister Jacek Ambroziak, head of the Council of Ministers' Office; Zbigniew Pudysz, deputy internal affairs minister; Senator Andrzej Celinski; Sejm deputies Kazimierz Blaszczyk (Citizens' Deputies Club), Jaroslaw Kapsa (Citizens' Deputies Club), Michal Kurek (Polish Peasant Party), Jacek Merkel (Citizens' Deputies Club), and Franciszek Rusnarczyk (Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Left); Roman Hula of the Police Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union; Jacek Taylor; and Colonel Janusz Wydra, deputy chief commander of the police.

The Council of Ministers directive provides that there will also be a Qualification Commission of Central Staff Appointments, as well as voivodship qualification commissions.

Changes in Political Scene Examined

AU2606212490 Warsaw ZYECIE WARSZAWY
in Polish 22 Jun 90 p 3

[Tomasz Wolek article: "Should There Be an Alliance In Support of Democracy?"]

[Text] On 10 June, I attended a meeting at the invitation of Jerzy Turowicz. The participants in the meeting expressed their desire to create "an alliance in support of democracy" to lend backing to the present government's reform program. No uniform grouping was established at Krakow, and the formation of some kind of political party was even less of a topic. There are too many differences—both ideological and political—dividing the people who met there. The scale of these differences is best illustrated by the distance between that admirer of worker self-management Ryszard Bugaj and the advocates of "democratic capitalism," Michal Wojtczak and Henryk Wozniakowski. There is just as much separating Stefan Bratkowski from Aleksander Hall and Jan Litynski from the author. Besides, the essence of the meeting was accurately reflected by the communique that was signed by the participants. It talked about cooperation between various political tendencies while preserving the separate identity and sovereignty of those that seek to more closely define their ideological and political identity. Had this not been the case, then Krakow would have given rise to yet another of those fictions about unity that would obscure a true picture of Polish public life.

I understand in a different way the reason behind forging an "alliance in support of democracy" and that is the only reason why I added my signature to the joint statement. A gathering of a great variety of people, irrespective of how much weight their names may carry, still does not constitute the creation of an alliance or a coalition. This kind of assembly can only derive unity from ties of a very general kind; agreement on fundamental issues and values that are accepted by all: freedom, democracy, and tolerance. It is true that that represents quite a lot, but it is still not that much. A true alliance, one that merits being called that, can be created by people, communities, and groupings whose separate character is apparent and whose identity has been clearly defined. They are communities that, despite undeniable differences, are inclined to cooperation with other communities without blurring their characteristic features, are, at the same time, searching for common ground. An alliance has to be concluded by more than one party. It is immediately tempting to ask: Is an alliance not also directed against someone? After all, there is the offensive-defensive type of alliance. Some of the participants in the Krakow meeting also spoke in this vein and treated Jerzy Turowicz's initiative as a direct reaction to the emergence of the Center Accord. I believe that the sense of an "alliance in support of democracy" resides elsewhere. The intention that I am referring to is well expressed by the name itself, which is strongly positive in

its emphasis and is oriented toward the constructive rather than toward the launching of attacks. Essentially, it is an alliance that comes out in support of something, rather than one that comes out against something or someone: the Center Accord, Walesa, or the Lodz "Citizens Accord."

The Polish political map can be viewed in two ways. It can be looked at as a network of fortresses bristling with stockades and surrounded by deep moats. The right is in one place, the left is another place, and there, somewhat to one side, is the inaccessible peasant camp, and the hastily erected, towering castle of the Center Accord is in the middle. There are bandits stalking the roads, paths have been closed off, and drawbridges have been raised. Every camp is busy working on its embankments, which are growing higher and higher. They are so high that all one can see from the highest point in one's own fortress is someone else's fortress and nothing else. It is impossible to see the surrounding area, the country, or the state from the high fortress walls.

However, you can also have another vision. There is a network of towns, with every town guarding its own independence, enjoying its full range of rights, seeking prosperity, and carefully looking after its interests. Even if the towns are surrounded by walls, there are numerous gates that remain wide open. Trade and commerce are blossoming, and traveling along the roads are merchants and members of the parliament, who are welcomed with sincerity, but without naivete. Every decision is preceded by reflection and an effort to achieve a consensus. The country is a common one, and interest groups endeavor to take account of the community.

I do not have to explain which of these visions I identify with more closely. Someone may level the charge of excessive idealism at this image. That may well be true. Nevertheless, I went to Krakow for the very purpose of trying to lower drawbridges together with others. I did not do so in the name of some erroneous or, perhaps, idealistic idea of unity, but in the belief that the moderate right (which I consider myself to belong to) and the moderate left should cooperate on certain issues.

They should engage in such cooperation for the good of the country. The level of what are by and large sound declarations on democracy and tolerance toward different views is not enough by itself. It has to be demonstrated that democracy cannot be practiced if it is divorced from criteria such as the stability of the state, a market economy, the evolutionary course of reform, and a political balance. I am not bending the knee to the Mazowiecki government. I know full well that this government is the product of a compromise involving decisions that are losing their validity. However, that initial Polish philosophy of change continues to remain in force: to lead the state prudently and, at the same time, consistently through a period of transition toward full "membership of the European Community" [Europejska obywatelskos]. This is because only a state

that is completely sovereign and democratic, and politically, economically, and socially stable can be a citizen of Europe that enjoys all the rights that citizenship bestows.

This is a philosophy that I accept and share. What is more, I do not see there being an alternative path, although one can and should argue about the rate at which we should proceed, as well as about whether the path is sufficiently broad and accessible to all.

I think that it is, although there is considerable confusion on it. This also stems from the fact that there is still not enough clarity in our political life. There is a lot that is deceptive surrounding true divisions, differences of opinion, and conflicting interests, because they are overshadowed by outstanding personalities. Although it is true that making politics about personalities is one of the virtues of the open democracy, there are limits. Conflicts about personalities should not obscure or be a substitute for programmatic differences. Slogans cannot replace content. After all, it is just not the case that the right is rallying around Walesa and the left around Mazowiecki. People representing both tendencies are scattered about public life and appear in a variety of places. The Citizens Committees, which are still the main force in public life, contain a whole range of political shades of opinion. It can now be clearly seen that they too are undergoing a process of differentiation that is as inevitable as it is natural. However, the manner and way in which these divisions occur are of immense importance. The manner in which this taking place at the present time prompts concern and disapproval. The living tissue of the committees is being ripped to pieces by political centers that are bent on expansion and would most gladly seize the whole lot. No one will succeed in fully realizing a plan of this kind, but it will, unfortunately, weaken and upset the fragile political balance.

It is impossible to arrest the course of events. However, an attempt should at least be made to point this stampede in a direction that accords with the character of changes that befit the mature democracies of the West. It is finally time that those arrangements of forces that were put together hastily or because that is what short-term considerations dictated and who perceived their sole *raison d'être* in winning or staying in power give way to the groupings that are emerging from this Polish nebula, groupings that are split along lines of views, programs, and concepts and not just personalities and aspirations. For the present, all we can see are the outlines of the important constellations of the future.

There is still room within framework of the Citizens Committees as well as within an "alliance in Support of Democracy" for a mature crystallization process of this kind. There is enough room for everyone, but as for time—there is significantly less of that.

Walesa on Germany, Democracy in Poland

AU2506161590 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
ALLGEMEINE in German 25 Jun 90 p 6

[Stefan Dietrich report: "I Want To Transfer My Victory Into Small Change, Into Pluralism"]

[Text] Gdansk, 24 June—Lech Walesa seems to be quite happy about being asked about the statement that has caused so much ill feeling in Germany. In April, the Netherlands weekly ELSEVIER quoted him as saying: "I am sure that both Europe and Germany have drawn a number of conclusions from the past. What I say now will not make me popular in Germany, but I do not shy away from saying it: If the Germans were again to cause instability in Europe, no matter in what form, then in the future it will no longer be a case of the division of Germany, but Germany will be removed from the map. With the help of advanced technology East and West are jointly able to execute this sentence." In the Netherlands, where these words could be read for the first time at the beginning of April, Walesa's insulting remarks did not cause any public excitement. At that time, the Polish paper TRYBUNA, which learned about these remarks in a roundabout way, presented its readers with an excerpt and added that Walesa's office had confirmed that the quote was correct. In Poland, too, the reaction was an embarrassed turning away. However, some letters with complaints about this matter have accumulated on the table of Walesa's press spokesman. Confronted with them again, the Nobel Peace Prize laureate and rapid talker takes a deep breath and says deliberately slowly and clearly: "Please, tell everyone that Walesa has always had friendly relations with the Germans."

Yes, he did give the interview to the "Dutchman." But it looked different, Walesa now says. His interlocutor repeatedly pressed the question on him whether he sees a danger in the unification of Germany, and he repeatedly answered in a reassuring way. "But he came back to it again and again. So, I told him: If you still have doubts, just imagine what would happen if someone in Europe unleashed a third great conflict with the existing technical means. In this case all states in Europe would be blown up." This is how the Solidarity chairman wants to be understood two months after his interview. The Netherlands journalist "presented this" in such a way that he, Walesa, had threatened potential German troublemakers with nuclear retaliation. Nothing is farther from his mind. He does not believe in the danger of a third world war in Europe, least of all in connection with the unification of Germany. "In no case should my words be interpreted as a threat toward Germany or as a bad relationship with Germany. I was speaking about the general danger that would develop if anything went wrong in Europe."

One has to admit that Walesa was the first leading Polish politician to call the division of Germany an "unnatural condition." This was during the weeks before the fall of

the Berlin wall. "How can the Germans think badly about Walesa," he asks a bit naively and adds: "If anyone in Germany claims that I think badly about them and wish them ill, I am offended." About half of the Polish population is actually not well-disposed toward Germany, according to Walesa's estimates. He attributes their fears mainly to the anti-German propaganda of the communists. "The other half, to which I belong, does not have these fears. It is correct that Germany will become an economic superpower, but this does not mean by a long shot that this would be bad for the rest of Europe. Let us just look at what this (West) Germany looks like today, how pluralistic this country is, how many nationalities live there. And when it becomes even bigger now, it will just become even more pluralistic. Therefore, one should not be afraid of this, but wait and see what this will bring about." Walesa is unhappy that some things have gone wrong in the German-Polish dialogue, particularly at the beginning of the new good-neighborly relations. "Over there there were elections, and here there were several combinations with the two-plus-four talks. This led to the fact that we shot several goals against each other. We did not do ourselves any favor with that. If it had been clear from the beginning what was going on, then the Soviet troops could already have been withdrawn. If we had been clever and had immediately said what the two German parliaments have now decided—specifically, that everyone agrees with the border—then this border could already be completely different, or much more permeable. We all did too little for this. The Germans and ourselves, too."

The noise from the street and from the opposite main railroad station of Gdansk comes through the open window behind Walesa's head. Ministers, presidents, and kings from all over the world still sit on his orange sofa almost every day. The office of Solidarity chairman is certain for the electrician, who is nearly 47, for another two years. He was confirmed in this office in April. The statutes prohibit a second reelection. At the moment, however, it rather looks as if he might soon exchange his office near the Gdansk shipyard—an office, which is full of souvenirs and awards from all over the world—with the office of the state president in Warsaw's Belvedere Palace. What urges him to stir up excitement again, to challenge his former friends and fellow-fighters to the struggle for power, and to split his own movement?

"For the time being we have only overthrown the communist system. Now we have to really use this victory. I am a fanatic follower of democracy and pluralism. I do not trust personal relationships, not even friendship. I count on guarantees of a system. We defeated Communism all together. But there is one formation for victory and one for work. Just look what has happened to the just revolutions and to the good revolutionaries. When they replaced the old regimes, they became even worse. Are we not on the same path? If Solidarity is everything—government, parliament, electoral association—what is it then? For the time being we still look good. The current top politicians, such as Geremek, Michnik,

Mazowiecki, and Walesa, are mostly good guys. But after them there come others and take over their system. After Lenin and Marx there comes Stalin and exploits our bad structures and ruins everything. If I see that things move in this direction, I oppose this development. I want to transfer my victory into small change, into pluralism. For me this is the only guarantee that this will not happen."

Walesa accuses the government of continuing to govern on the basis of the roundtable agreements. These agreements ensured 65 percent of the deputies' seats in the Sejm for the communists and their then allies and the office of president for former party chairman Jaruzelski. At the latest after the dissolution of the Communist Party at the end of January, Walesa says, new elections should have been held. Premier Mazowiecki and Solidarity group chairman Geremek opposed this with the argument that Poland now needs a phase of stability. The motive force from Gdansk admits that parliamentary elections would have caused greater confusion for some time. "But at least the people would not have had the unpleasant feeling of being ruled in the old way. Two-thirds of the old nomenklatura are still in office. They are living well and we are supposed to pay for this. When today we ask the people to tighten their belts and show understanding, and they see the old relics, they have heart attacks. Someone starts to pay for this, and it is the people who were responsible for this who pay for it. An unused opportunity is like a missed penalty-kick in soccer."

"Just look what is happening to Poland," he cries out loudly. "the country is being plundered, in an entirely legal way." He need not look long for examples. Managers of the former Lenin shipyard earned a lot of money by releasing the best parts of the enterprise for leasing. In the meantime, they earn even more money as managers of the tenants. To the state they left the deficit. In this way innumerable directors are enriching themselves through the conversion to a market economy and private property. "If they had listened to me, it would have been possible to react to his immediately, to exercise special powers immediately, and the Sejm would have settled this afterwards. I was not against democracy, I was for the protection of democracy during the transition period," Walesa insists.

Already at the end of last year he urged the government to apply for special powers. Mazowiecki refused. Too many captains before him had run aground with the infamous "steering by hand." But Walesa insists. The government and the deputies can make as much effort as they like in transforming the laws, they always lag behind developments, and in the meantime the people's property is being wasted. "I still do not see how one should work without special powers. They will come back. They will come and apologize to me, and ask for special powers; they will not be able to cope with the dangers during the change in the system in any other way."

Walesa becomes angry when he is accused of authoritarian inclinations. "The mass media write this." If he had wanted to, he could have turned Solidarity into a party a long time ago, he defends himself. "This would be very easy. Why do I not do this? Because it would not be good for Poland, and would serve neither democracy nor pluralism." Walesa pursues diversion within his own ranks, while Mazowiecki wants to keep the citizens committees together as the political basis of the government. He supports a liberal-conservative "center" group, which has withdrawn its trust from the other Solidarity leaders in government and parliament, and is making his former advisers Mazowiecki and Geremek obviously nervous with this.

Last week government spokeswoman Niezabitowska said irritably that Walesa's advice was not needed; furthermore, it is populist. With this she only fans the desire to struggle of the man she attacked. "Up to now I have always won, and I will win again. I am doing this because I do not struggle for an office but for structures. In order to make democracy function, one has to start it. What we have now is great people in certain offices, but that is not yet pluralism. I want democratic structures. In this I see the guarantee for Poland's safe development."

Miller on Election Irregularities

AU2506102090 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish
20 Jun 90 p 3

[“Excerpts” of 8 June letter from Leszek Miller, chairman of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, to Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki: “For the Sake of the Common Good, Not for the Sake of Protest”]

[Text] Local government elections were a democratic act of great fortitude. However, they were accompanied by facts and phenomena that violate the principle of equal rights.

1. In the performance of his duties, Senator Jerzy Stepien, the general election commissioner, did not always respect the principle of impartiality vis-a-vis the political groups taking part in the elections. He clearly aligned himself with the “Solidarity” Citizens Committee. He made this obvious by means of his public speeches against the background of “Solidarity” emblems and participation in television programs aimed at publicizing Citizens Committee candidates.

The Office of the General Election Commissioner prepared two posters containing information on how to vote. They carried the emblems of the political groups taking part in the election, but they showed an ‘x’ against the Regional Citizens Committee. In this way, a poster that was supposed to give information was deliberately made to give instructions (...)

The way in which the general commissioner presented the election results has been interpreted as an attempt at manipulation. He seemed to want to prove the thesis

about the marginal role of political parties in Poland's political life. Most of the parties have filed protests against this (...)

2. Some voivodship election commissioners also behaved in a biased manner.

In Lublin, acting under pressure from the Citizens Committee and in violation of the stance of the Municipal People's Council, the voivodship election commissioner decided to increase the number of municipal election districts from 7 to 10, which made it more difficult for weaker political groups to indulge in election competition.

In Krakow, the voivodship election commissioner divided the city into election districts without enabling the political forces to present their programs, instead of which these forces succumbed to the program of the Citizens Committee (...)

In Chelm, the voivodship election commissioner, Malgorzata Zbarachiewicz, took direct part in election propaganda. A portrait of her appeared on leaflets promoting “Solidarity” Citizens Committee candidates for the people's council.

3. Other impermissible practices occurred. The official pattern of the ballot papers was altered. I know that this occurred in Krakow, where, on the ballot papers, lists of candidates belonging to a particular bloc were separated from candidates belonging to other blocs by a horizontal line. Such alterations were even made during the act of casting votes. In election district number 9 in Wroclaw, some of the ballot papers contained drawings in pencil.

4. The rule about not introducing election propaganda to national radio and television programs was only superficially heeded. In fact, the election campaigns of the “Solidarity” Citizens Committees were stepped up by means of television (...). An example of this type of bias was the “Self-Governing Republic” program broadcast from Bytom on 20 April, most of the programs on the subject of local government, and the “100 Questions” program broadcast on the day of the election, starring the secretary of the Citizens Committee. Regional radio and television programs were in a similar vein, presenting election propaganda in their news broadcasts. This was particularly the case in Warsaw, Gdansk, and Wroclaw. Also conspicuous was the degree of publicity for the local government candidates. The closer the day of the elections, the more frequent the radio and television appearances of candidates belonging to the pro-“Solidarity” groups.

5. So-called street propaganda displayed a glaring lack of tolerance and political culture. Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP] posters were covered by posters of other groups, torn down, or had their messages distorted by means of extra words or symbols written in, including Nazi swastikas, or even crossed out altogether. In two such cases, in Kalisz and Ilawa, SDRP members

complained to the courts against these practices. In Wroclaw Voivodship, SRP activists fixing posters to walls were beaten up.

6. Agitation for the benefit of "Solidarity" Citizens Committee candidates occurred in various forms on the day of the elections. The main form thereof was the display of posters in or near the immediate vicinity of polling stations, or so-called crib sheets placed in polling booths by "unknown persons." (...)

By informing you of the above facts, in no way does the SdRP intend to use them as a basis for formal protests or an opportunity to acquire cheap political popularity. We are doing this in the conviction that the shaping of a new political culture for our society requires particular care and solidarity in eliminating phenomena which might encumber joint efforts in this direction.

Labor Minister on Price Increase Impact

LD2606220490 Warsaw PAP in English 2137 GMT
26 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 26—In his weekly TV statement today, Minister of Labour and Welfare Policy Jacek Kuron spoke about steps to be taken to cushion the possible hikes of electricity and gas prices.

He said that the decisions on price rises of electricity for households and of postal charges have not been taken yet. Talks on the issue with trade unions are under way. The possible rise would be put into effect on July 1. Prices of coal will not go up. The government plans only to free coal prices so that they would be set by the market. The rises should not entail the growth of prices of other goods.

In self-financing enterprises, the tax on excessive wages will change in such a way as to allow for higher wages to cover growing prices. The revaluation of salaries in non-production sphere will take place soon. Employees will also receive the 14th (monthly) pay as workers of production sector have received payments on profit, Kuron said.

It is envisaged that old-age and disability pensioners will receive 30,000 zlotys to cover higher costs of living before their benefits are revaluated this coming September. It is estimated that the proposed rises will increase the cost of living on the average by 10,000 zlotys per person. The rises of rents planned in autumn will additionally increase the cost by another 3,000 zlotys per person.

Despite all the cushioning measures, some 30 per cent of families may have financial problems. These families should get social welfare benefits, the minister said.

Jaruzelski Meets With Youth Group Representatives

LD2606220890 Warsaw PAP in English 2124 GMT
26 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 26—President Wojciech Jaruzelski met here today with representatives of various research institutions dealing with youth, sociological and psychological associations and youth organizations and movements.

Summarizing a several-hour discussion the president said in part: There is a need for such activities which would minimize such threats as unemployment, and at the same time expand opportunities for the young.

One has to also aim to systematize the world of values of young people so as to prevent them from cynicism, strive to change the black-and-white way of viewing Poland's history, including the period of the past 45 years which recently is often referred to as the "black night", said Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Today, a great chance opens up before Poland, and especially before the young Poles, he added.

Social Democracy Union Head Interviewed

LD2406030690 Warsaw PAP in English 1748 GMT
23 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 23—"It is too early to speak about the union as a political party," stated Tadeusz Fiszbach, the Sejm (lower house) deputy speaker in an interview for the Warsaw-based weekly "PRAWO I ZYCIE" on the PUS Polish Social-Democratic Union which he heads.

"At the moment this is rather a social movement from which, I believe, a political party will be formed," he told the paper, adding: "on the national scale about 4,500 people identify with the union. This is not much. But we are more keen on drawing moral authorities to the union, people enjoying trust in society than on simple quantitative development. This is because we are growing 'from bottom up.' We have departed from the Voivodship pattern which was characteristic of the old party system. We have resigned from any claims to the assets left behind by the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party, PZPR]. I think this was a right decision even though at the moment we have no office space, no permanent headquarters, no printing equipment. Instead we are basing on the social activity of members and supporters"

The Social-Democratic Union leader acknowledged that PUS gathered many former PUWP members, adding that there were as many people who never belonged to any party. "Women form a significant group in the union. There aren't many young people. Lack of activity on the part of young people is a problem not only for the union" Fiszbach said.

Speaking about the situation of his group in the alignment of political forces in Poland, Fiszbach stated that he basically viewed it as a strong centre-left party. "We direct ourselves chiefly to working people. It is difficult to speak about the union's program at the moment. So far we have worked out a declaration of intentions. We simply want to be socially useful," the PUS leader said.

Social Democracy Holds Voivodship Congresses

*LD2506135290 Warsaw PAP in English 1246 GMT
25 Jun 90*

[Text] Warsaw, June 25—first voivodship congresses of the Social-Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SdRP) were held in many cities in Poland on Saturday and Sunday. They adopted their programmes of action, defined stands on political, social and economic questions and elected new authorities. Chairman of the SdRP Supreme Council Aleksander Kwasniewski took part in the debates of the first SdRP voivodship congress in Katowice.

The reconstruction of the Left will last long but the pace of repeating mistakes that were made by previous authorities is so great that perhaps the period of the Left remaining in disfavour will be shorter than we thought, Aleksander Kwasniewski said during a press conference preceding the debates in Katowice. About 170 delegates representing over 3,100 SdRP members and about 5,000 SdRP sympathizers in the Katowice voivodship took part. The debaters discussed the necessity to better inform society about the SdRP goals.

In its resolution the congress defined as tasks of primary importance: assistance to people denied work for political reasons, setting up a foundation for the jobless and greater political activity in various milieux, chiefly the workers' ones. Representatives of the Proletariat Union of Polish Communists, the Polish Peasant Party and solidarity-80 took part in the debates as invited guests.

Officials, Farmers Discuss Prices, Subsidies

*LD2606221290 Warsaw PAP in English 2032 GMT
26 Jun 90*

[Text] Warsaw, June 26—Representatives of the National Union of Farmers, farmers' circles and organizations met here today with vice premier, Minister of Agriculture and Food Industry Czeslaw Janicki, Minister Head of the Office for Farmers' Living Standards Artur Balazs and representatives of the Ministry of Finance headed by Ryszard Pazura.

The postulates of the main council of the union concerned the introduction of guaranteed minimum prices in the procurement of farm produce, lower interest rates on credits for farmers, organization of procurement of this year's rape and grain crops, subsidies to milk production and import tariffs on meat which would protect the interests of Polish breeders.

After the talks, Minister Czeslaw Janicki told PAP that today's meeting with representatives of the union was the second this month and the talks had the character of consultations.

"We told representatives of the union that the government programme passed by the Sejm (lower house) does not provide for the introduction of guaranteed minimum prices of farm produce as demanded by farmers' circles. At harvest time, the agency of agricultural market will buy grain at intervention prices set by the agency's council in which farmers will have their own representatives. The government have already decided to lower the interest rate on credits for the procurement of grain and farm produce," Janicki said.

Janicki said that the government resolved to uphold 400 zloty- subsidies per 1 litre of milk irrespective of its fat contents. Skim and fat curd will also be subsidized.

A total of 400 billion zlotys have been allocated for restructuring food processing and another 100 billion will be channelled for the lowering of the interest rates on credits for the completion of investment projects in the dairy industry. Some 200 billion zlotys will be designated for subsidies to dairies which buy high quality milk, the minister of agriculture said.

Bernard Rybczynski, chairman of the economics and private farms commission of the union, said: "We came to the talks with precisely formulated postulates which had earlier been conveyed to the government. We were surprised by the fact that the government side was not authorized to hold negotiations and regarded the meeting as an informative and consultative one. We could not accept the refusal to introduce guaranteed minimum procurement prices for basic farm produce this year."

"The union will take further indispensable steps as we cannot give this postulate up. We are not fully satisfied with the government solutions regarding the dairy industry as they mainly concern consumers and not producers of milk," Rybczynski said.

Farmers Solidarity Official Calls Sejm 'Circus'

*AU2606162190 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish
21 Jun 90 p 3*

[Henryk Prawda report: "Baumgart: 'The Sejm Is a Circus' "]

[Text] "What path will Private Farmers' 'Solidarity' take?" That was one of the questions put to Piotr Baumgart, chairman of the Western Pomeranian Chapter of Private Farmers' "Solidarity," at a news conference.

The reply was: "We are opting for an alliance and cooperation with Lech Walesa and Roman Bartosz cze. On 19 June, I met with Lech in Gdansk, and we reached total agreement. Lech became convinced of our interests

and rural demands, saying that the Polish economy cannot be healed unless Polish agriculture is healed first. The protesting Mława farmers influenced Lech's standpoint."

Piotr Baumgart added that Walesa had been shocked by the deployment of an armed police unit against the Mława farmers and said that this was one of the current government's gravest mistakes. "We both agreed that the existing Citizens Parliamentary Club is a brake to the development of political pluralism. When Lech failed to go to the striking railway workers in Slupsk, others did so, and that spurred the 'Solidarity' chairman to undertake energetic action. Before the parliamentary elections, Lech had himself photographed beside 'Solidarity' activists. Now it is high time he stopped being the stepping stone to other people's careers. The present Sejm is a circus. Important laws are postponed indefinitely. There is never a quorum, either because someone has gone on vacation or has left the Sejm hall. We are waiting in vain for a series of laws, such as the laws on ownership rights, land management, and the banking system."

Response to Foreign Aid Offers Criticized

PM2706083090 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
28 Apr 90 p 13

[Jerzy Baczynski article: "The Scent of Easy Money"]

[Text] As we all know, for some time now the West has been extending economic assistance to Poland. This is very clearly noticeable each time we visit the Marriott Hotel in Warsaw. I am willing to wager that three-fourths of all hotel guests at any given time are experts, advisers, and representatives paid for from a number of various "Aid to Poland" funds. The Marriott is also a venue for innumerable banquets, dinners, seminars, symposiums, and luncheons during which the timetables of future visits by experts, advisers, and consultants are arranged. Just as in the best years of the "Interrupted Decade" [reference to recent book by Edward Gierke], they are again on the scent of easy money to be found in Poland.

Foreign experts come to Warsaw mainly to train us. Western governments, banks, and financial institutions are not exactly falling over themselves to invest money in Polish economy. But no one skimps on the training. Even the frugal Mrs. Thatcher gave \$70 million in a generous gesture. A further 16 countries offered us a total of some 100 training courses. It is hard to add it all up today and to know the total sum they represent. Is it \$200 million or \$300 million? I wish I were wrong, but I suspect that something sinister is happening with this money—the first sums we have actually received from the West.

To begin with, we ourselves are completely unprepared for the task of using this money wisely. The majority of sectors and institutions that could be involved are unable to specify their personnel requirements, draw up a list of proposed subjects for training, or define the format of the training courses. Training offers from

foreign countries are interpreted as a chance for a trip abroad for a smaller or larger group of people, preferably as a "study visit" or a "reconnaissance mission." Frequently candidates for these courses have no foreign languages, having been selected on the traditional principle of status or reward for services rendered. The "training and apprenticeship" tourist routes were inaugurated almost immediately after the launch of the first training courses.

In an effort to keep control of this unbridled element, last year the government set up the Manpower Training Coordination Bureau under the aegis of the Education Ministry [MEN]. The Bureau is responsible for central decisions concerning candidate selection for training programs financed from abroad. We must openly admit that there was simply no other way out of the problem, notwithstanding the plethora of faults and shortcomings inherent in this administrative scheme. First, it is not and never can be watertight, so there are still a number of "training trips" organized outside the MEN's control; second, the Bureau's processing capacity is very limited in relation to the scale of the aid offered. Consequently, many offers are simply never taken up and, because they are often of limited duration, the opportunities are either lost or misused.

Unfortunately, our foreign benefactors do not make it easier for us to spend the resources earmarked for aid to Poland sensibly, either. Most of these sponsors have designed their training programs so that the millions of dollars involved do not leave their own countries at all. On the whole, we are offered foreign-based training courses run by local institutions and agencies. The cost of training one course trainee from Poland in this way comes to some \$200 per day. So it is quite obvious why hundreds of Western institutions—which frequently have no experience in the field of personnel training, are trying to get their hands on this money. Sometimes it is enough simply to declare the intention of cooperating with Poland, support an influential person on the Polish scene, or be on good terms with the relevant government agency in order to join the "aid to Poland" bandwagon. It is indicative in this regard that over the past months at least a dozen or so such agencies were created in the West. Their only brief is to offer personnel training in our country. They are mostly set up by foreigners of Polish extraction. Their training programs are, as a rule, banal; only the money is genuine.

Let us now get back to the Marriott Hotel... An untold number of government, parliamentary, and specialist delegations arrive in Poland on their own initiative, often on courtesy or reconnaissance visits. The costs of their visits are usually drawn from "aid to Poland" funds. Sometimes they denote the start of genuine cooperation; frequently (and I do not want to be unjust by making sweeping statements) their only outcome constitutes of so-called recommendations of further assistance for Poland, in which the same hackneyed old phrases (communications, banks, accounting systems) crop up over and over again, and which suggest that preparation

of more detailed analyses requires further studies. I have also heard a thing or two about the fees collected by those consultants for their alleged "lectures" or "advisory consultations" and drawn on the Polish aid funds. The whole issue is of an extremely delicate nature, since some of the contributing countries do not wish us to monitor how the money collected by them for our benefit is spent. It is all too easy to step outside the limits of good manners by which the recipient is bound in relation to his benefactor.

The Polish side has consistently attempted to persuade its foreign partners to organize training courses in our country more often than abroad, to run them according to our own requirements, and to offer them, first of all, to persons who would then be able to pass on their new knowledge to others. However, we must remember that also on our own home ground many people have by now realized that there is easy money to be made out of the foreign aid scheme and a myriad of various business or management schools are being set up all over the country now in an attempt to "plug in" to the Western training scheme. Sometimes they are even backed by serious institutions or respected personalities, which only increases the general confusion and chaos which reign supreme on our side.

I cannot say exactly how many million dollars have already been spent on training Polish management personnel. But I do know that thousands of people have benefited by these programs, though not necessarily in the way they were intended to...

Well, let us leave the matter of these several hundred million dollars spent on training programs aside for the time being and take a look at what is happening with the \$10 billion which we have allegedly already received from the West to prop up our economy.

I wrote "\$10 billion" because this was the amount quoted by our own Polish media. In any case, it is quite correct if we add up all the promises received and accept them as good money. In fact, a sizeable proportion of this sum is still in the form of vague or unconfirmed declarations; several billion dollars appear in the guise of credit and trading guarantees, which—as the name itself suggests—can turn into real money, but are not bound to do so. \$1 billion in the stabilization fund is lying there untouched and we will probably miss the chance to obtain as much as a single dollar of it (fortunately, the need does not arise.) Moreover, we were also promised a variety of capital investment and designated loans, technical assistance and environmental protection funds, food aid, and cash gifts...

Well, even this money, which is actually there at our disposal, appears to be too much for us to absorb. We fought for so many years for Western loans and guarantees, and we have promptly choked on the very first portion received. First, as a result of a somewhat unexpected development of our economic situation, a certain proportion of the loan proposals have turned out to be

simply unnecessary. Let me remind you that at the time of the negotiations with the IMF the assumption was that Poland's foreign trade deficit for the current year would amount to \$3 billion. However, according to the latest Central Planning Office [CUP] forecasts, we could wind up this year with a \$3 billion foreign trade surplus. Consequently, we do not need the money originally allocated to equilibrate the country's balance of payments.

But the bad news is that the economic recession has lowered the economy's demand for hard currency loans. As the majority of enterprises find themselves fighting for survival in the face of the abrupt fall in demand for their products, they will certainly refuse to get involved in the uncertain economic venture of embarking on capital investment projects, update their technological processes, or launch new production profiles. True, the CUP registered more than 250 capital investment projects submitted by enterprises, the implementation of which would require some \$7.5 billion, but these are already historical records, since the applications were submitted in the years 1988-89, that is, in completely different economic circumstances. New comparable projects are few and far between, and they do not, on the whole, meet the fundamental requirement of feasibility. Very often the applying side backs out as early as at the stage of filling in the application form required by Western credit institutions.

For instance, the World Bank placed two credit schemes at our disposal, to the joint value of \$360 million. Unfortunately, to date no practical use has been made of these. Attempts by the Polish National Bank [NBP] to pass these on to some other customer have so far proved unsuccessful. The situation with other loan offers made by foreign governments, banks, and international finance groups and organizations is quite similar. As soon as enterprises realized that they, and not the state, would be expected to pay back the loans, they lost all interest in them.

It might be expected that, given these circumstances, foreign relief aid would be the only thing we are prepared to accept with gratitude. But even this is not entirely correct. Let me recall here all the trouble we had with the donated butter; today we have a similar situation with the EEC gift of animal feed or crop protection agents. Our domestic producers, who have enough trouble with selling their own products, try to blockade the deliveries of these offerings (which are, incidentally, sorely needed.) Another EEC donation—funds for the development of telephone communications in rural areas—is a cause of embarrassment to the Communications Ministry, which still lacks... relevant legislation.

However, all this is immaterial. Our main difficulty is that Western benefactors who stand by with their aid keep asking us for our priorities. But we still have no comprehensive strategy for the development of the economy. It is unfair to blame the new government team for this: When did it have the time to do it all? It is only

now that are beginning to tackle so-called sectorial studies. Existing programs turned out to be worth less than the paper they were printed on: They failed to incorporate marketing research, take note of sales prognoses in the domestic and foreign markets, or take into account the effect of access to new technologies, while the economic calculation of costs and profits was plucked out from the air. Now we are commissioning a number of foreign and domestic companies to carry out proper studies (here it is worth pointing out that many fly-by-night "consulting" firms are simply dying to get their hands on this kind of contract.)

Western economic assistance offers overwhelmed us with their multitude, causing us to run around in circles in nervous panic. A special ministerial office was created (and given to Prof. Trzeciakowski) to organize and coordinate this assistance, but at the same time—perhaps as a result of an understandable reluctance to overdevelop central administrative structures—he was prevented from taking any effective action. The whole office employs five or six people, and it is only recently that they managed to find an English-speaking secretary. Consequently, control over the way individual assistance offers are taken up and used has been shared out among six different ministries and several banks. In these circumstances no one can speak of a cohesive, well-coordinated government policy in respect of the Western offers of economic assistance, and many opportunities are simply wasted.

Recently we saw a new proposal to set up a so-called Group of Five (Ministers Balcerowicz, Trzeciakowski, Osiatynski, Swiecicki, and [NBP] Chairman Baka), whose brief would be to map out the government policy in this area and assume control of its implementation. Let us hope they succeed! We managed to waste money loaned to us once before. It was Edward Gierek who set the precedent....

Polish Union Established in Belorussia

LD2606144190 Warsaw PAP in English 1301 GMT
26 Jun 90

[Text] Minsk, June 26—The Union of Poles was set up in Belorussia after years of strivings and endeavours, also in the Kremlin, this being a break-through for nearly 400 thousand-strong Polonia living in that Republic.

The union aims to stimulate social activeness of Polish minority there, promote Polish culture and provide aid in the teaching of the Polish language, tradition and history.

Tadeusz Gawin, persistent and consistent activist of the Adam Mickiewicz Cultural-Educational Society in Grodno, became the union's chairman.

Latest Unemployment Figures, Trends

AU2406145590 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish
19 Jun 90 p 3

[Renata Krawczynska report: "Some 270,000 People Will Lose Their Jobs"]

[Text] Reality corrected the somewhat optimistic government estimates of likely unemployment figures. At the end of May, we recorded 443,000 people without work, and 6,900 enterprises have indicated the possibility of more mass dismissals. By the end of August, they intend to make an additional 270,520 people obsolete.

Enterprises in the Warsaw voivodship have indicated the largest possible number of dismissals. Some 378 enterprises intend to reduce their staff by some 29.5 percent. In the Katowice voivodship, some 508 enterprises will make 24,000 workers obsolete. In the Rzeszow voivodship, 214 enterprises intend to dismiss 13,900 people, and in Kielce voivodship, 12,600 workers from 451 enterprises will lose their jobs. In Gdansk, the figures are 10,800 workers from 283 enterprises; in Krakow, 11,000 workers from 259 enterprises; and in Wroclaw, 10,800 workers from 183 enterprises.

Looking at individual enterprises: At "Jaworzno" coal mine, 4,000 miners will be dismissed; at "Nowa Ruda" coal mine, the figure is 1,500 miners; at the "Kasprzak" Works in Warsaw, it is 1,100 workers; at "WHSS Spolem" Katowice, 2,000 will go; at "WPHW" Katowice, 1,600 workers; and 1,500 workers from the Katowice miners guild will lose their jobs.

The process has started to proceed, and, at the end of the summer holidays, we expect to see 750,000 people unemployed. To this number one must add at least half of this year's school leavers. Overall, the Central Planning Office estimates that by the end of 1990, some 1.3 million people will be drawing unemployment benefits instead of the 400,000 originally anticipated.

Let us add that the figure of 1.3 million represents some 10 percent of our total working population. Thus, it appears that in this respect, we are quickly beginning to catch up with Europe, and in certain cases we are actually overtaking it. Last year, the level of unemployment in the United States was 5.2 percent of the working population; in Japan it was 2.3 percent; in the FRG it was 5.5 percent; in France 9.5 percent; in Great Britain 6.4 percent; and in Italy 12 percent. We are putting up quite a performance.

Jaruzelski, Academics Discuss Youth Unemployment

LD2606181190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1400 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] What will 200,000 young, unemployed people do in the autumn? This was one of the subjects of a meeting held today between President Wojciech Jaruzelski and

representatives of youth organizations and academics. Here one of the participants of this meeting, Jacek Matusiak of the Independent Union of School Youth in Gdansk:

[Begin recording] [Matusiak] In my opinion what is happening right now in Poland is a struggle for sinecures and personal positions. This could have a disastrous effect on the future of this country and the future of young people. If we wish to haul the country out of the ruins we should place our money on the intelligentsia, and for the time being there is nothing to encourage them to learn. The majority of us think of escaping abroad. Well, this is not a solution.

[Reporter] If you wanted to put a postulate to the government, to the grown-ups—they are the ones who are making a mess of this country now....

[Matusiak] Those present in this hall today are worrying about what to do with the problem of the young. They are wondering what to do with the young and we have the problem: What to do with ourselves. We should reach some consensus in order to work out—I don't know—a common program on how to get out of this together, and it should not happen that the elders decide what we should do and we just conform to this, as has been happening so far. [end recording]

TV Reports Rising Crime Rate

LD2606213990 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1740 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] In crime we are rapidly catching up with Europe.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] It is said that international crime mafias are beginning to operate in Poland. Is it true?

[Colonel Lech Chajduk, deputy commander of the Warsaw police force] I cannot confirm this, but I cannot deny it either. It may happen tomorrow that these mafias will operate on the Polish territory, which demands from us adequate preparations today. Besides cooperation with police forces in the West, we are undertaking actions to fight criminal groups organized in the Warsaw area. The point is not to strike the individual links in these groups but to strike them as a whole, and this requires time. I can assure you that we shall be extremely consistent in fulfilling this task. [end recording]

Nevertheless, there is menace in the streets: Thefts, burglaries, and banditry have become a social plague. Here are some statistics, so as not to use empty words. The number of thefts and violent robberies last year went up by 57 percent; the number of killings by 22 percent; and rapes by 17 percent. Unfortunately, the situation this year is similar. The most dangerous voivodships are the following: Warsaw, Lodz, Gdansk, Szczecin, and Legnica.

[Begin unidentified speaker recording] Lodz. In the past five months, 17,000 crimes, 200 percent more than last year. Detection rate has dropped.

Gdansk voivodship: The number of killings and violent attacks has gone up by 150 percent. Most often they took place in the tri-city in the late hours, and the victims were in a state of insobriety. The most dangerous places are in the Gdansk center, in Gdynia, in Wrzeszcz [district of Gdansk], as well as in the area of Przymorze and Zabianka [districts of Gdansk].

In the Szczecin voivodship, the crime rate went up by 90 percent compared to last year; most of the crime was in Szczecin. Despite staff shortages, the police have organized seasonal police stations in all seaside localities.

In Wroclaw, violent assaults take place four times more often. Residents of older districts in the area of Traugutta and Kosciuszki streets are most threatened. The city center is also dangerous.

In the Katowice region, the number of killings is up by 50 percent. The worst statistics come from Tarnowskie Gory, Jaworzno, Gliwice, Chorzow, Ruda Slaska, and Siemianowice. Detection rate has fallen.

In Poznan, the police warn customers of late off-license shops and night restaurants. Most violent attacks have been reported in the area of Sniadeckich Street and Wilson's Park, as well as in [words indistinct].

In Krakow, it is dangerous to walk in subways by the main railway station, Planty [park encircling the old town], and also the area of Florianska Street and the Market Square. The Krakow police intend to strengthen patrols by reducing the number of their office employees. [end recording]

These are ad-hoc actions. But the disquieting fact is that crime detection has been falling everywhere. Reasons? Too few policemen and too little equipment needed for their work, for example, effective communications systems between police vehicles.

Iliescu on Talks With Gorbachev in Moscow

AU2606212190 Bucharest LUMEA AZI in Romanian
No. 24/14 Jun 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "President Ion Iliescu: This was the First Time We Met, Gorbachev and Myself"]

[Text] After the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states and a few hours after being inaugurated as president of Romania by the Supreme Justice Court, Mr. Ion Iliescu gave an exclusive interview to our co-worker, Milena Mihaescu.

[Mihaescu] Mr. President, your first official "outing" took place within the context of an important meeting and the transformations on the European continent. What are your impressions after participating in the meeting in Moscow?

[Iliescu] As all the participants assessed, this meeting was of a particular nature. It was the first meeting of the Political Consultative Committee after the dramatic and radical changes that occurred in all countries in the East and within the context of modifications that are taking place on the European continent in general. The discussions focused on necessary changes, on appropriately adjusting the Warsaw Pact to the changes occurring in the world today, and on turning it from a mainly military alliance into a predominantly political organization that will facilitate the processes occurring on the European continent and the extension of the framework of ensuring security on our continent. Surely, this is a complex process which requires changes within both alliances linked—among other things—to the unification of Germany and to the changes in the political situation of the European states and, thus, to the need to create a uniform base on our continent. This requires the creation of a new atmosphere in relations among all European states and concerns the importance that has to be attached, from this viewpoint, to the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the institutionalization of some of its bodies as a new framework designed to facilitate this process on our continent.

[Mihaescu] Did you have a personal meeting with Mr. Gorbachev on this occasion? How did it proceed?

[Iliescu] This meeting, which was attended by the chiefs of all states, was an opportunity for talks and meetings with almost all delegation leaders. Gorbachev wanted to have this first meeting with me and—for the information of all curious people who are spreading all sorts of stories—this was our first meeting. This was the first time that we—Gorbachev and myself—became acquainted with each other. There was an opportunity during a break in the meeting to meet and to exchange mutual impressions and to brief each other on problems we are facing by expressing the desire to strengthen our cooperation on new and sound bases of complete equality between our countries.

[Mihaescu] Was the Moscow meeting an opportunity to meet with other chiefs of state as well? In what type of atmosphere did these dialogues with the democratic East take place?

[Iliescu] I also met with Vaclav Havel. His country is now on the eve of elections, the reason that he left immediately. I renewed my invitation to him to visit Romania and we agreed to give it concrete shape the moment he is able to visit. In turn, he said he expects me in Prague. I also met with Mladenov. The Bulgarians have also elections on Sunday and are on the eve of this event. I met with Jaruzelski, and with the representatives of the Hungarian delegation in a desire to set the basis for new cooperation.

Iliescu Meets Chiefs of Diplomatic Missions

AU2606173490 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1700 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] In the course of the evening at the Victory Palace, Mr. Ion Iliescu received chiefs of diplomatic missions accredited in Bucharest and members of the diplomatic corps. The meeting was also attended by members of the Permanent Bureaus of the Senate and the Deputies Assembly, by the prime minister-elect of the government, and by members of the provisional government.

Iliescu Addresses Diplomats

AU2606192990 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1714 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Speech by President Ion Iliescu at meeting with chiefs of diplomatic missions in Bucharest 26 June—recorded]

[Text] Messrs. ambassadors, charges d'affaires, and diplomatic representatives: To begin with, I would like to express thanks for your presence here, for your words of appreciation, and for your wishes. We view this as a gesture of appreciation and friendship on behalf of the governments and states you represent, and of esteem and respect for the Romanian people and their legitimate leaders. We also view this as a basic element of the amicable relations of friendship and cooperation which we want to constantly develop in years to come.

Most of you were present, at our side, during these difficult months in the history of the Romanian people. Those whom you greeted today are—most of them—the same people who, during the hot days of December, embarked upon the road of radical changes of our country and who have remained faithful to those programs and to the openings, which our country achieved, on the road to democratic development, and to the openings which our country has achieved in order to develop its international relations.

Irrespective of the difficulties we have gone through and through which we will, undoubtedly, continue to go in the political activity and in the socioeconomic area, we

have decided not to yield by any means, but to consistently continue along the road of our democratic development and along the road of affirming and strengthening a genuine democracy and, in this context, along the road of tackling and solving the difficult problems facing the Romanian society on the road to the renewal of its socioeconomic activity.

It is not for the sake of some foreign desires and not for the sake of the urges by others that the Romanian people are progressing along the road of their democratic development, but because this derives from the very need for the development of the Romanian society. We proceed consistently along the road of democratic development not because others are asking for it, but because the Romanian people are asking for it and because the need for our development at all levels requires it. Therefore, this is not a belief of the moment, but a vital requirement of the development of the Romanian society. We will consistently proceed along this road.

Despite the difficult events we have gone through, despite certain superficial assessments that did not take into consideration tangible facts and how things happened, but went even as far as to make ridiculous assessments, to say that the Romanian Government and the power in this country had organized such provocations and acts of violence by itself. [sentence as heard] In the final analysis, any violence has repercussions on those who rule, irrespective of how it happened. Therefore, it is stupid to try to make the ruling people responsible for the violent events we witnessed last week. These events were not the first ones and we will probably be confronted with such attempts on behalf of some irresponsible elements in the future.

True, it may be that the only valid criticism was that our forces of order displayed weakness toward those acts of violence and did not know how to appropriately solve these problems. Our legislative and executive bodies will examine these problems and draw all necessary conclusions from these events. I believe that it lies in the power of the Romanian society to seek ways and means to solve these problems and to establish a normal framework for the resolution of social conflicts which derive from our natural development.

We want to express thanks to you for your interest; we convey thanks to those who expressed their solidarity with us. We wish you success in your mission as spokesmen, as bearers of the interests of your countries in our country. We hope that you will be objective envoys of the situations you face in our country, and we hope that you will be effective levers on the road of strengthening relations, esteem, and mutual trust between our states and peoples, between the states and the peoples you represent and the Romanian state and people.

We wish you, the leaderships of your countries, and your peoples only well-being and we wish to see our mutual relations develop. [applause]

Iliescu's Replies to Havel Letter on Unrest

AU2506142890 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech
22 Jun 90 p 1

[CTK report: "I. Iliescu's Reply"]

[Text] Prague—President Iliescu's reply to President V. Havel's letter on the Bucharest events of 13 to 15 June was delivered to the president Wednesday [20 June] night. In the letter President Iliescu recalled his meeting with President Havel [at the recent Warsaw Pact summit in Moscow] and reiterated that the events of 13 June were a premeditated antistate act aimed at discrediting the country's democratically elected leadership. He quoted Premier Roman's letter to Premier Calta and confirmed that the Romanian leadership dissociates itself unconditionally from all acts which exceeded the limits of the law. Parliament decided to set up a special commission made up of representatives of the main political parties to investigate the events. I. Iliescu called for a constructive dialogue between political parties aimed at building the structure of a law-governed state and a democratic society based on justice, social balance, and respect for human rights. The Romanian president informed President Havel that the Romanian side has adopted resolute measures which are to prevent any illegal acts and ensure the free expression of views as well as conditions for the normal activity of political parties.

Bishop Tokes Views 'Anti-Hungarian Mood'

LD2606122390 Budapest MTI in English 1054 GMT
26 Jun 90

[Text] Oradea, June 26 (MTI)—Reformed bishop of Oradea Laszlo Tokes on Tuesday appealed to the Romanian Government and political forces, asking them to take an open and unanimous position against the increasingly prevailing anti-Hungarian mood in the country which resembles anti-Semitism, and to do everything possible in the interest of creating a genuine democracy, the blessings of which can be shared by all in the country, without exception.

Bishop Tokes called for cooperation between democratic-minded Romanians and the Romanian churches against hatred and lack of unity. 'We should not shrink from provocation, misleading and threats, we should join forces against the anti-democratic forces that incite discord and violence', Mr Tokes writes.

The document recalls that the Hungarians in Romania had, from the very first, espoused the cause of revolutionary transformation, however, they were bitterly disappointed in the past months. The ghostlike return to the past put an end to the promising process of national reconciliation. The opponents of democracy incited national hatred, and with a series of shameful manipulations, labelled the Hungarians as a social public enemy.

The anti-Hungarian mood is, essentially, nothing other than the challenge of dictatorship against democracy, as no democracy can exist where, on the principle of

majority, any social or national minority is robbed of its rights. Democracy is one and indivisible. It belongs to everyone, also to the Hungarians—runs the appeal.

Foreign Media Bias Seen in Reporting Unrest

AU2606093690

[Editorial Report] Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian on 15 June carries on page 4 a 100-word report on a U.S. State Department statement in connection with the 13-14 June unrest in Bucharest "deploring the excessive use of force by police in clearing Bucharest's University Square of antigovernment demonstrators" and calling on all sides to "avoid violence." This report is followed by a 200-word unsigned "editorial note," which regrets that the statement "fails to mention" that the violence was caused by "declassé elements, including many from those in University Square, for whom Washington shows so much concern," who "committed acts of vandalism, set cars on fire, and devastated the television building." The daily hopes that this attitude is due to the fact that the State Department is "not in possession of all available information."

ADEVARUL on 16 June carries on page 4 a 300-word block of predominantly negative reaction from abroad to the latest wave of unrest in Romania, followed by a 150-word unsigned "editorial note," which expresses "surprise" at the fact that the foreign media only refer to the "violence of the authorities against demonstrators," while totally ignoring the "acts of vandalism" against "vital public institutions." The note "hopes" that this "bias" is due to "insufficient or tendentious information" about the "true nature of events in Romania."

ADEVARUL on 17 June carries on page 4 a similar 400-word block of negative reaction from foreign media and politicians, followed by a 100-word "editorial note" wondering "who stands to benefit from the lack of objectivity" in this "unilateral presentation and interpretation" of events.

International Red Cross To Visit Detainees

AU2306133290 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 0800 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] This morning, a meeting was held at the General Police Inspectorate between the head of the International Red Cross delegation, Mr. (Gerry Mailer), and the first deputy interior minister, Major General Corneliu Diamandescu, and Colonel Liviu Trandafirescu, deputy head of Penal Investigation Directorate of the General Police Inspectorate.

On this occasion, it was decided that on Monday 25 June 1990 the members of the International Red Cross delegation will start paying visits to the places where people who were arrested after the 13, 14, and 15 June events are being held in custody.

The major goal of such actions by the International Red Cross is to check on the way in which detainees are being

treated and on living conditions in those places where they are being held in custody.

We note that all these actions are taking place in accordance with humanitarian principles and that the members of the International Red Cross will hold strictly confidential talks with those arrested. They will then submit reports to the government bodies on the results of their investigation.

Allegations of Polluting Ruse Area Denied

AU2206184790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1711 GMT 22 Jun 90

["Agora: Perplexity at News Items in the Bulgarian Press"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 22/6/1990—A number of news items were brought out in the Bulgarian press of late relative to the chlorine pollution of the town of Ruse from the chemical combine in Giurgiu.

Learning of those news items, the "ROMPRES" news agency contacted an institution in Romania and is now empowered to inform of the following:

Upon the Romanian side's initiative, a meeting was held in Bucharest on June 9 between the relevant ministers of Romania and Bulgaria, and attended by experts and representatives of the ecological movements of the two countries. They analysed problems related to environmental protection in the border area, in the Giurgiu-Ruse zone included. As for the chlorine pollution of Ruse, a problem raised during the meeting by the Bulgarian side, the Romanian delegation showed that the sodium-chlorine products manufacturing platform of the chemical combine in Giurgiu had been closed as early as July 1988 and that, according to measurements performed in the Romanian territory over the respective interval, there had been no chlorine and hydrochloric acid concentrations in the area. Problems related to pollution, however, remain an issue to be paid attention to.

According to those established by the relevant ministers of the two countries, a new meeting, on an expert level, was held on June 14, when a protocol was signed and a programme was set to agree on a common, unitary method of performing measurements.

Under like circumstances, the allegations in the Bulgarian mass media can only create perplexity as they lack any real basis. Furthermore, as shown by the aforesaid consultations, the two countries' governments are in constant dialogue.

Daily on Foreign Ministry Reorganization

AU2706094790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0819 GMT 27 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/6/1990—A new structure of the Romanian Foreign Ministry was approved, which provides for better representation abroad, shows an

account in the newspaper "DIMINEATA," which also supplies the following data: the directorates of synthesis politics, law and treaties and international organizations were created, allowing of the elaboration of a foreign policy in line with the current international law. The recently adopted normative acts favoured negotiations on the opening of missions in countries such as the Republic of Korea and Namibia, and at the Common Market, the reopening of embassies (in Australia, for instance) or of houses of culture, consulates and libraries in the USSR, West Germany, France, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Egypt, Canada, Greece and the U.S.A.

Until the end of April 1990, 31 ambassadors were accredited and 28 charge d'affaires ad-interim were appointed. They are personalities of the cultural, scientific and economic life, experts in international relations or career diplomats. Of the 214 diplomats employed in the Foreign Ministry in the past six months 117 are former workers who were abusively dismissed, in the past 12 years in particular. Furthermore, 97 diplomatic staffers—most of them young jurists, teachers, economists, engineers were employed. A test-contest was held at the Universities of Bucharest and of other towns to select 34 first-year students who are to be sent abroad to complete their university studies in West Germany, Greece, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, England, Poland, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, South Korea and Japan, on the basis of scholarships offered by those countries. Concomitantly, a test was arranged to select 20 graduates and young experts to be employed in the Foreign Ministry and sent for specialized post-graduate courses to the U.S.A., France, England, Austria, Switzerland, West Germany and Italy.

Roman Chairs Provisional Government Meeting

*AU2606171090 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1500 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Text] The members of the current provisional government this afternoon held a last meeting under the chairmanship of the prime minister-elect, Mr. Petre Roman.

The last examination of the activity focused on the economic, financial, foreign currency, monetary, and foreign trade situation in the first five months of the current year.

At the end of the meeting, the prime minister-elect of Romania made some assessments in connection with the activity of the government, which is concluding its activity, emphasizing that there were positive aspects which contributed to improving the life of the citizens, but also some unpleasant and serious instances, as well as difficult situations which made the government's activity difficult.

We have reached a difficult stage, he said, when we have to radically reorganize the Romanian economy in accordance with the strategy of the market economy.

The government—in its new composition after the elections—has to play a new role as an objective requirement of Romanian society, which is in full process of radical transformations.

Mr. Petre Roman then emphasized that the structural economic changes also involve a change of the state apparatus, beginning with the composition of the government.

On this occasion, Mr. Roman appealed to all those present to support—as competent people—the national economy and the processes of transformations that will follow. The new government team has to change the structure and the administration of the government.

Mr. Petre Roman expressed thanks to all members of the provisional government for their work, work that will end Thursday [28 June].

Senate Proceedings Described

Meets 26 Jun

*AU2606110890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0923 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/6/1990—At 9.00 a.m. [0600 GMT] Romania's Senate met in ordinary meeting to continue the debates on the operation regulations of that parliamentary organism.

Ends Rules Debate

*AU2606200790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1708 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 26/6/1990—Romania's Senate concluded debates on its functioning rules. The document includes 165 articles structured by seven chapters, being fruit of a laborious work the senators did from the very first days of their nomination.

The Senate decided that the rules be submitted to its entirety for approval after completing them with the amendments proposed.

The Senate will resume works Wednesday, June 27.

Ionescu Elected General Secretary

*AU2706090390 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 0800 GMT 27 Jun 90*

[Text] Romania's Senate resumed its plenary proceedings in the Omnia Hall in Bucharest. After an examination of the draft law on the organization and functioning of Romania's presidency—the first point on the agenda—the Senate then examined an organizational matter. In this respect, the Senate speaker suggested the establishment of the position of Senate general secretary, which should be of an administrative nature. The Senate endorsed this proposal. We inform you that university Professor Mr. Constantin Ionescu will be the general secretary of this parliamentary body.

Parliament Joint Session 'Soon'

AU2706103290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1002 GMT 27 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/6/1990—During the morning session the President of the Senate Alexandru Birladeanu announced that a joint session of the two chambers would be held soon during which the premier designate of Romania, Mr. Petre Roman, will present the nominal list of the new government and set forth the government's programme. At the proposal of the Standing Bureau, the Senate unanimously elected Mr. Constantin Ionescu as secretary-general of the Senate.

The Senate also approved its rules, a first stage being thus concluded during which the organizational structure and the legal framework for its activity were finalized.

Deputies' Assembly Session Detailed

26 Jun Session

AU2606170490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1516 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 26/6/1990 —The Assembly of Deputies endorsed in the session of June 26 the chamber's rules of procedure. Questions referring to the standing commissions of the Assembly of Deputies are still to be debated. In that connection, the Assembly's Speaker Dan Martian invited the parliamentary groups to make nominations for their composition and appoint candidates for the leaderships of the standing commissions.

The Assembly of Deputies resumes proceedings on June 27, at 9:00 [0600 GMT].

27 Jun Session

AU2706092190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0832 GMT 27 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/6/1990—The Assembly of Deputies resumed its work Wednesday morning with the stated intention of ending the discussion of its rules that started one week ago today. Actually, a few articles have yet to be discussed, after which the composition of the chamber's standing commissions is to be decided.

NPCDP Statement on 14 Jun Attack

AU2706112790 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian
19 Jun 90 p 1

["Statement" issued by the Leadership of the National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party in Bucharest; date not given]

[Text] On 14 June 1990 at dawn, a group of aggressors armed with clubs, iron rods, cudgels, and shovel-sticks invaded the NPCDP [National Peasant (Christian Democratic) Party] headquarters and the editorial office of

the newspaper DREPTATEA in 34 Republicii Boulevard, as well as other offices of the party.

The aggressors carried out acts of vandalism, wildly hitting people who were in their offices and in the editorial office, and destroying furniture, fittings, and very valuable equipment.

We have well-founded reasons for asserting that this action was a consequence of the incendiary statements made by the authorities about the events that had occurred in Bucharest on 13 June 1990, statements that were tantamount to a scenario that matches the mass media that is still allowed to operate.

In connection with these events, the NPCDP leadership solemnly declares that it did not initiate and did not participate in any of the above-mentioned manifestations and it resolutely disapproves of all acts of violence that led to the attack of certain institutions and the destruction of property, acts that claimed victims, regardless of who performed these actions.

We noted with indignation the insinuations and even statements made in a government communique that arms, ammunition, Molotov cocktails, and drugs had been found at the NPCDP headquarters, which is a misrepresentation that even exceeds the actions staged by the communist regime in 1946-47 to justify the outlawing of the National Peasant Party.

In connection with the serious situation that has been created in this way, we most strongly protest against all these violations of the rights and freedoms of citizens and we ask the government to take the appropriate legal measures to put an end to aggression, to remove those who occupy headquarters in an abusive way, to identify them, and to take to court all those who are responsible for instigations.

[Signed] The NPCDP Leadership

Claims of Demonstrators at Dialogue Noted

AU2506141690 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 13 Jun 90 p 1

[Sorin Rosca-Stanescu article: "Why Did the Dialogue Fail? Whose Fault Was It?"]

[Text] We mentioned in yesterday's issue that the dialogue had failed. Contrary to what the radio and television communique said, the 19 hunger strikers announced to the public that they would continue their protest action. Thus, they assume all the risks and, certainly, we cannot help being concerned about the fact that their lives are in danger. Why did the dialogue fail? First of all, all those claims expressed by various organizations, which initiated and supported the continuous demonstration in the University Square, were not even approached. The dialogue focused exclusively on the joint request to have an independent, private television station. The government commission was not prepared and was not empowered to offer a straight answer to this issue. Which side has the responsibility to

limit the content of the dialogue to one single point? Some representatives mentioned from the very beginning that the demonstrators asked them to hold a dialogue only in the presence of the press. However, the presence of the press was not accepted by the government commission led by Mr. Sever Georgescu, general secretary of the government. They did not allow even one video camera to record the dialogue. Under such circumstances, out of solidarity with the hunger strikers, a dialogue was however accepted behind closed doors, but limited to the first point. As a matter of fact, what is behind the request to have a new television station and what is behind the ambiguous answer (which is equal with a dissimulated refusal) of the Government Commission? The request is as legitimate as possible and it is supported not only by the 19 hunger strikers but also by the University Square demonstrators. If, at this moment, the press benefits from the law of supply and demand—that is of competition—why should the television not also do so, because it would be very beneficial for our public if the public could have the possibility of a choice. Opening a new television channel (when there are three more available) would only increase the diversity of information received by the Romanians. And finally, in this way, people could be more correctly informed about the major domestic and foreign events, while the choice for recreational purposes would also increase. In this way one could not speak about a manipulation of television. As a matter of fact, in most democratic countries there are independent television stations, with an individual character. And now let us see what is behind the refusal. The same arguments, changed into counter arguments. Or, what else than the fear—which we could call a pathological one—of not releasing the mass media from the control of those in power. To ask today the question whether the free circulation of information should be under the control of those in power or, on the contrary, under the control of the public, means to endanger the future of Romanian democracy. And if the claims of strikers and demonstrators were known, and if the government granted the commission that was present at the dialogue the “privilege” of offering only a dissimulated refusal, then what was the purpose of the dialogue? However, it did have a purpose. To drag out the time and convince the public about the good intentions of those in power. Maybe even at the price of the hunger strikers’ lives.

And what will our future, the future of all of us, look like if our conscience has to bear the impact of a new tragedy?

Papers Stop Publishing To Protest Violence

DIMINEATA Comments

AU2506195990 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian
17 Jun 90 p 3

[DIMINEATA-signed note: “For a Free Press, Not for the Freedom to Instigate!”]

[Excerpts] For 2 days ROMANIA LIBERA, DREPTATEA, “22,” BARICADA, EXPRES, and some other Bucharest publications have not appeared. The causes are various and quite complex. However, they have not been banned by the

authorities, as it was said, but their nonappearance was directly linked to the 13 and 14 June events. [passage omitted on printers’ communique]

A big meeting of the workers in the Bucharest Polygraphic Enterprise was held on 14 June. During the meeting, the respective publications were greatly blamed for the outbreak of the tragic events on 13 June. Workers shouted slogans against the management of these publications and against instigatory journalists.

On the same day and on the following day, miners made use of their “arguments.”

Under these conditions, the aforementioned publications, as well as some other ones, could not appear. Without agreeing with most of the material published in the columns of these publications—as we have mentioned several times—and without disputing the right of the Bucharest Polygraphic Enterprise to freely decide on their attitude, we believe that our democracy would suffer if certain interdictions were imposed on the press regarding printing.

We call on all journalists of good faith to refrain from actions that would incite to violence and cause destabilization and which would create a climate of hatred and intolerance. It is the right of the opposition to have its own opinion and to freely assert its ideas, however no one has the moral right to become an accomplice to crime.

At the same time, we believe that actions of manhandling journalists and the brutal attempts to intimidate them, regardless of the explanations they provide to justify them, are regrettable gestures.

[Signed] DIMINEATA

ADEVARUL Urges Reappearance

AU2306152490 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian
17 Jun 90 p 1

[“A”-signed article: “Appeal of ADEVARUL Editorial Board”]

[Text] The state of unrest created after the 13 June events has a new and serious detail which has been mentioned in three communiques published by the press, radio, and television: The communiques of the Journalists Society of Romania, of the Printers Free Trade Unions, and of the Ministry of Culture. They prove that an unprecedented situation has come up under democratic conditions and completely at variance with the principles of a free society: Namely the interruption of the publication of dailies ROMANIA LIBERA and DREPTATEA.

It is no secret to anyone that ADEVARUL has often engaged in direct polemics against those papers, including in connection with certain articles published in their columns, which we viewed and continue to view as inciting people. We do not want to discuss whether or not our views were well-founded, because we only want to be advocates of free opinion, expressed through free polemics.

As for bodies competent to pronounce effective verdicts on the contents of one publication or another and, in extreme cases, on dangerous violations of the freedom of expression, such bodies do not exist. All three of those communiques emphasize the alarming delay in formulating a press law. The lack of such a basic law has, to a great extent, permitted practices, suspicions, and conjectural charges, thus leading to the current tension around the press. One should not ignore the fact that the Ministry of Culture sponsored the paper required and printing space and, in the legions of newspapers and magazines, it also proliferated certain publications which were commercially or politically successful because of their scandalous contents and contempt for truthfulness. The indifference of some top officials in the government went as far as accepting the privatization of a daily of national importance and resonance through a very broad—that is erroneous—interpretation of legal provisions.

True, in the case of the cited publications, a conflict emerged, including with the Printers Trade Union, but the situation could have been settled by openly voicing one's opinions and through conciliation within the limits of a democratic dialogue, all the more so as the printers—through their trade unions—said that they would continue to fulfill their technical duties. It is disappointing for us to note that the bosses or leaders of the two dailies ignored the dialogue with those who print them, or, if they don't ignore it, they conduct it formally by accepting or seemingly enjoying the nonappearance of their newspapers. It seems that this is further proof of their intention not to get involved in improving the social climate and in rectifying the country and its structures.

It is very bad when papers fail to appear for reasons other than a complete lack of readers or because of a well-founded prohibition pronounced by legal authorities. Similarly, it is very bad when those who head the given publications bide their time, thus creating the impression of being victimized. Irrespective of their leanings, the two newspapers have their well-known place in the publishing scene of democracy. Finally, the readers are the ones to decide the value and opportuneness of the contents of a publication; if, at one point or another, or for one reason or another, it does not suit some representatives of editorial offices to publish articles, the public would rather have the papers themselves appear.

For this reason, recognizing and affirming the supreme authority of the public, the readers, ADEVARUL editorial office—siding with all protests against the violation of the inviolability of the press and of journalists—calls on the editorial offices of the aforesaid newspapers and on their leadership not to escalate this moment of crisis artificially but to fulfill their primary duty to the readers: To continue publishing their newspapers.

ROMANIA LIBERA Resumes Publication

AU2506091390 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA
in Romanian 19 Jun 90 p 1

[ROMANIA LIBERA-signed note: "Meeting Again"]

[Text] We would have never believed that it could happen.... We do not know, dear readers, if and how much you missed our paper during these past few days. We know for sure that for us, this absence from meeting with you was almost like death. If it were up to us, such an interruption would have never occurred. The nightmare—because it was a nightmare—is over and let us hope that it is over for good. Let us hope that never again will conflicts of any kind be "solved" through the banning of opinions, no matter how embarrassing they would seem to some people. Now that we meet again, we would like to thank you all, all citizens who were interested in the destiny of our newspaper; we express thanks to all those who suffered because of our paper's absence, to all those who wanted it to be published again, and to all those who—in Romania or abroad—made us feel that we mean something in their life. We assure you that, beyond this eternity of five days that separated us in an undesired way, our thoughts were of you, are still looking to you, and are again trying to find your souls and your trust in our joint and invincible wish for freedom.

[Signed] ROMANIA LIBERA

Printers Union Communique on Freedom of Press

AU2506090990 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian
19 Jun 90 p 1

[Communique issued by the Union of Free Trade Unions of Printers in Romania in Bucharest; date not given: The Union of Free Trade Unions of Printers in Romania Informs the Public"]

[Text] 1. We firmly speak out for respect for the freedom of the press in our young democracy. At the same time, we cannot accept cases of the irresponsibility of some servants of the written word who mistook the freedom of the press for disinformation and instigating others to violence.

2. A part of the current tension in the world of the press is caused by the absence of a law of the press, which should exactly establish the responsibility, including the legal responsibility, of each journalist and of each publication for statements that are made public. We request that the elaboration of such a law be stepped up.

3. We cannot accept working under pressure, no matter from what direction it comes.

4. We draw attention to the fact that, if one collective of printers is subjected to any type of pressure, all printers in our country will act in complete solidarity with them and will go as far as stopping the printing of all publications.

The Cluj Printing Enterprise [P.E.], the Tirgu Jiu P.E., IMP [expansion unknown], the Bacau P.E., the Suceava Printing Office, the Bucharest P.E., the 13 December P.E., the Oltenita P.E., the Sibiu P.E., LCP [expansion unknown], the Alba Iulia Printing Office, BCS [expansion unknown], the Ploiesti Printing Office, the Iasi P.E.,

Linotip Gazete Iasi, IFGCOT [expansion unknown], the Arta Grafica P.E., the Stamp Factory P.E., the Galati P.E., the Bucuresti Noi P.E.

Free Democratic Party Leader Leon Suspended

*AU2206182590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1708 GMT 22 Jun 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/6/1990—The initiative committee set up for the reorganization of the Free Democratic Party on truly democratic grounds, suspended Mr. Nica Leon from the office of president of the party until a final decision is made during an extraordinary conference. That decision was determined, as the communique sent to the news agency "ROMPRES" shows, by the fact that the party's leader, Mr. Nica Leon is involved in the events of 13 June, the day when the young democracy in Romania was put, like never before, into jeopardy by rightist extremists who, neglecting the verdict the Romanian people gave on 20 May 1990, continued their shows of force and destabilizing actions unjustified after the elections. The communique is signed by the president of the initiative committee, Eng. Elena Serban and vice-president Daniel Nicolescu.

Formation of Independent Forum Sought

*AU2506120290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0938 GMT 25 Jun 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 25/6/1990—An appeal to all former independent candidates for the Senate to form a Romanian Independent Forum was launched by the president of the Cluj Provisional National Unity Council, Octavian Buracu, who was an independent candidate for the Senate.

The forum is conceived as a broad-based alternative to a virtually inexistent opposition.

Neoliberal Movement Set Up Under Nicolae Grosu

*AU2506120490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0729 GMT 25 Jun 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 25/6/1990—The Neoliberal Movement was formed with a doctrine that differs from that of the Liberal Movement in that it rules out any chance to revert to politicianism and the anachronistic forms of property such as big landholdings, and of economic and social relations. Furthermore, it upholds that the state, which does not have a direct role to play in the economy, must nevertheless do its best to put the conditions in place for economic activities to become profitable and for the re-distribution of the work force in the events of bankruptcies.

The movement, whose president is Dr. Nicolae Grosu, shares a number of ideas with several young parties and is confident that a strong neoliberal trend will eventually be formed in Romania.

NSF Denies Brucan To Choose Future Leaders

*AU2506143990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1350 GMT 25 Jun 90*

[“Political Life—Statement by National Salvation Front Leadership”—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/6/1990—The Press Bureau of the National Salvation Front sent a communique to the ROMPRES News Agency on Mr. Silviu Brucan's phone call, broadcasted during the "Actualitati" [Current Events] programme of the Romanian Television on June 24. The communique shows that Mr. Brucan is not a member of the Steering College of the National Salvation Front and that ever since February he has in no way taken part in working out the lines of action of the Front so that his suggestions on the composition of the future front leadership are strictly personal.

“As a matter of fact, these suggestions show lack of knowledge of the basic texts of our political group, more particularly of Articles 13 and 14 in its statute.

“Thanking him for the pains he took in Tokyo relative to these matters, the Steering College of the front wishes to assure Mr. Brucan they are in a position to make their own interpretation of their own statute and thus take appropriate measures.”

Independent NPCDP Set Up in Dolj

*AU2506120090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0728 GMT 25 Jun 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 25/6/1990—The officially registered Independent National Christian-Democratic Peasant Party [NPCDP] comprises the quasi-totality of the former Dolj County branch of the National Christian-Democratic Peasant Party.

The new party's programme is “more moderate and centre-oriented” says its provisional president, Eng. Ionica Victor, 36, who adds: “we want to modernize the party, adjust it to the peasant requirements, and distance ourselves from the far-rightist factions that have emerged in the National Christian-Democratic Peasant Party.”

Autonomous Municipalities Federations To Form

*AU2506120690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0936 GMT 25 Jun 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 25/6/1990—On the initiative of the Bistrita, Piatra Neamt and Braila city councils the founding of a Federation of Romania's Municipalities was agreed upon, a non-political association which aims to create the proper legal, economic and administrative framework for the settlement of their socio-economic and cultural questions.

The founding meeting of the municipalities' federation will be held on 6 and 7 July 1990 in Bistrita Municipality.

The provisions of the federation's statute are: autonomy, decentralisation and an end to the strict tutelage of central organs, the promotion of local initiative, collaboration with other similar unions in other countries and even with international organisations.

Dialogue Group Examines 13-15 Jun Events

*AU2206202690 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1900 GMT 22 Jun 90*

[Text] The Group for Social Dialogue this afternoon organized a meeting in Bucharest with representatives of certain cultural, scientific, educational, and press establishments and from other areas of activity, and with representatives of students' leagues and other associations who have been or feel affected by the acts of violence from 13-15 June 1990.

According to the organizers, the purpose of this meeting was to collect data and opinions in order to establish a common strategy concerning these events.

The Group for Social Dialogue will continue this kind of meetings, including [words indistinct] political parties or organizations.

Steps for Privatization, Market Economy Viewed

*AU2506120890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0934 GMT 25 Jun 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 25/6/1990—For the acceleration of the process of transition to the market economy the State Secretariat for Privatisation at the Ministry of National Economy adopted a decision on the evaluation of the state economic units' property and of the relations between their assets and a possible social capital, in a process preceding the decentralisation of the whole economic activity. According to that decision the state economic units will function as trade associations.

The translation into fact of that decision is the premise for the privatisation of some state enterprises through the transfer of state property to trade associations initially founded with state capital.

Strongly correlated to that decision a draft law of the enterprises regarding their full autonomy and transformation into self-managed trade associations has been elaborated by the state secretariat for privatisation which is to be approved by the government.

At the same time a package of normative acts to minimize the government's intervention in the economic process, particularly through economic levers, not by direct administrative decisions, is under way.

Archbishop Wants Religion Taught in Schools

*AU2606110490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0928 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/6/1990—Religion ought to be taught in schools, says Daniel Ciobotea,

archbishop of Iasi and metropolitan of Moldavia and Bucovina, in an interview with newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA because, he says, we cannot put a nihilist, indifferent and confused humanism in place of atheistic humanism. A synod-appointed commission will select the basics to be taught in primary, junior and senior high schools, he added. "Teaching religion in schools," the high prelate stressed, "should be seen as a form of broadening one's horizons and improving one's knowledge, not as ideological indoctrination."

Commerce, Industry Chamber To Hold Jul Congress

*AU2606124290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1043 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/6/1990—A system of Chambers of Commerce and Industry has been set up in Romania comparable with that in countries boasting a market economy.

The system includes the National Chamber of Commerce and Industry and 15 territorial Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

Romania's Chamber of Commerce and Industry is meant to protect and promote the interests of trade and industry, represent merchants, industrialists and craftsmen, all those who carry on their activity in the tertiary sector, in state enterprises or private firms, stated Mr. Aurel Ghibutiu, chairman of the National Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

The chamber is a non-governmental and autonomous institution not subordinated to any ministry. The Chamber of Commerce and Industry assists its members to conclude commercial transactions informing them currently about the situation on the international market, advertising their products, to participate in internal and international exhibitions, ensuring an objective qualitative and quantitative checking of products, intervenes in difficult situations, like possible disputes with partners resorting to commercial arbitration.

The first general meeting of the members of Romania's Chamber of Commerce and Industry will be held in mid-July in Bucharest.

Foreign Trade Bank Opposes Hard Currency Monopoly

*AU2606090090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0742 GMT 26 Jun 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/6/1990—The Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade is ready to and even interested in eliminating the hard-currency monopoly, said Mr. Dan Pescariu, president of that financial body. As a matter of fact, he pointed out, the normative acts worked out this year offer possibilities for small enterprises to retain 50 per cent of their earnings in hard-currency. Furthermore, there are similar regulations in favour of ministries, enterprises and cooperative associations, which have already created significant breaches as far as the hard-currency monopoly is concerned.

At the same time, the regulation concerning hard-currency transfers for commercial companies registered in Romania in which foreign capital participates is a step in line with European practices. Their hard-currency profits may be integrally transferred. When profits in lei alone are made, the whole capital may be repatriated in 12 years' time owing to the annual transfer of eight per cent of the hard-currency amount initially invested. There are possibilities—by following the tendency of adopting uniform legal norms on a European plane—to develop a highly attractive economic milieu in Romania for foreign investors, Mr. Pescariu considers.

The key target of the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade, he also said, is to do competitive business, also through services of legal, fiscal and institutional consultancy offered to foreign companies willing to invest in Romania.

First Private Industrial Enterprise Launched

AU2606084690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0747 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/6/1990—The first private mechanical engineering firm "Popci" has started work at Craiova, in southwestern Romania. The range of its operations is pretty wide: welding, mechanical working, assembly, heat treatment, sandblasting, dye spraying with the annual turnover being put at about nine million lei.

The company which provide its services to the home market is also looking for potential partners abroad: Negotiations are under way with Yugoslav, Italian, West German and U.S. firms for a broad spectrum of products starting next year. There are plans to eventually increase the share of exports to 80-90 of the total.

Private Producers, Tradesmen Union Set Up

AU2606085290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0753 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/6/1990—Under the aegis of the Labour Party in Bucharest there was legally founded the Romanian Union of Independent Industrial Producers and Tradesmen which already comprises over 100 private companies in Romania. The union has initiated the "Market-Fax" programme to create the home market and to establish the export and import possibilities for the Romanian private companies. The attendance to that programme will be permitted by means of the cards to be printed in weekly "PROMETEU."

'Promising Prospects' for Private Publishers

AU2606121090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0930 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/6/1990—Book publishing—a state monopoly until now with just one exception,

the Litera Publishing House, which was a partially private enterprise—appears to hold promising prospects. Until now, 17 private publishers have signed contracts with the Bucharest Book-Selling Enterprise who will be paid 25 [as received] of the sales in terms of value. Contracts have been concluded for sums that range from 34,000 lei (Bucharest's Terra Nova) to 27,090,000 lei (Atlas Clujul Liber) [Free Cluj Atlas]. In-between are: Sphynx-VR [expansion unknown] of Cluj, represented by writer Vasile Rebrea (25,000,000 lei), Bucharest's Europa (17,730,000 lei), A.M.B. [expansion not given] owned by writer Aurel Maria Baros, Universalia of Craiova and Casa Europeana [European Home] (with 10,000,000 lei each), Globus (9,300,000 lei).

Besides the above-mentioned writers, more others have emerged as managers of publishing houses—Adrian Păunescu (born 1943), Corneliu Leu (born 1932), Nicolae Frînculescu, as well as a film critic—Eugenia Voda—and editors employed by state publishing houses—Tudorel Stoica and Mircea Stefanescu.

More private publishers—Signata, Eveniment, Literatură—are about to conclude contracts for the sales of books with the Bucharest Book-Selling Enterprise.

Environmental Protection Law Being Drafted

AU2606084890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0745 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/6/1990—A new environmental protection law is in the making as part of a concerted effort to cut down on pollution. Private and group initiative to promote non-polluting technologies coupled with waste water treatment and exhaust gas processing, as well as the use of residual heat are all given careful consideration. The "He who pollutes he should pay" principle is strongly upheld since it is assumed that it is easier to put ecologically-safe technologies to work than to redress the damage done by pollution. Provisions are made that take into account the gradual, if quick transition of the economy to the free market and to privatization. At the same time, Romania's integration in Europe is duly considered from economic, social and ecological points of view when it commits itself to safeguard the most precious thing on earth: life in all its forms.

New Hydropower Station on Mures River

AU2606105090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0922 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/6/1990—The works have started at Rastolita on the Upper Mures at the dam of a new hydropower station which will be 105 meters high and with a volume of 4 million cubic meters. The dam will gather 175 million cubic meters of water. The construction works have also started at the discharge galleries and the access road on 8.8 km.

Slovene Constitution, Territory Debate Reported

Presidency Endorses Constitution

LD2506194490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1615 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 25 Jun (TANJUG)—At its session today the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia accepted a proposal to set in motion a procedure to adopt a new constitution of the Republic of Slovenia. According to Milan Kucan, the president of the Presidency, the Constitution of the sovereign state of Slovenia and not of one of the federal units is at issue. This is an unambiguous indication of the priority status of a new Slovene constitution. Only a constitution of this kind will enable Slovenia to enter into confederal links within Yugoslavia and into other forms of integration in Europe.

Under the new constitution, the Republic of Slovenia will be a sovereign state with all the attributes of actual authority on its own territory and with full international, legal, identity, the Slovene Presidency says in its proposal. The republic's competence will extend to cover the security and defense of the state, its international relations, its political and economic system, basic human rights and freedoms, property relations, and other issues of importance for an independent state. This standpoint signifies the implementation of the principle of self-determination as outlined by the 1966 international treaty on state and political rights, the 1975 Helsinki Conference charter, and the existing constitutions of Yugoslavia and Slovenia.

The freedom to determine the political status of the Slovene people and its state is a basis for promoting Slovenia's independence and its possible links with other Yugoslav nations and their states within either a confederation of fully sovereign states or within a state community in which Slovenia would be guaranteed a confederal status.

According to the Slovene Presidency this kind of status for the Slovene state will enable it to make sovereign decisions about all international links with other states and international organizations. The Slovene Presidency advocates a state system based on a parliamentary form of power but the issue of whether the parliament should have one or two chambers was left open following a lively debate.

The introduction of emergency situation will come under the competence of the parliament. Under the new constitution the president of the republic would be the head of state and the supreme commander of its armed forces. Milan Kucan stressed today that the Slovene presidency's proposal to set in motion the procedure to adopt a new constitution of the Republic of Slovenia was received favourably last week by representatives of all the parties represented in the parliament.

The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia is expected to discuss the proposal in mid-July when Milan Kucan will submit a report on proposed changes.

The Slovene Presidency today decided to discuss the issue of Slovenia's representation in Yugoslavia's diplomatic and consular missions in light of the new political situation in Slovenia and its priorities in foreign policy.

Slovenia will insist on greater influence in the distribution of cadres, above all. Dr. Dimitrije Rupel, Slovenia's foreign minister, placed special emphasis on Slovenia's inadequate representation in diplomatic missions in Europe. At the same time Rupel criticized the fact that the latest appointments of four ambassadors from Slovenia were made by competent federal organs without the knowledge of present Slovene authorities and at the proposal of the previous Executive Council and Presidency of Slovenia. Rupel said that Slovenia was not interested in ambassadorial posts in Peru and the United Arab Emirates which it was offered recently in addition to ambassadorial posts in Portugal and Libya. His stand was endorsed by the Slovene presidency.

Adopts Sovereignty Guidelines

LD2606152890 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1354 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 26 Jun (TANJUG)—The government of Yugoslavia's northern republic of Slovenia today adopted programmatic guidelines, reaffirming the Republic's state sovereignty.

The elements of Slovenia's state sovereignty include an independent legal system, the precedence of Slovenia's legislative acts over such acts of other states and an independent state administration.

Slovenia, according to the guidelines adopted today, wants to build an effective economic system, its own system of public media, to have full powers in defense affairs and its own armed forces, and to pursue an independent foreign policy.

Slovenia will devote attention to the position of members of autochthonous nations in Slovenia and the position of ethnic Slovenes in the world.

Slovenia, as set out, will be able to ensure its sovereignty in a Yugoslav confederation, since such a state order implies the existence of sovereign states which have concluded a confederate agreement.

Premier Removes Tito Picture

AU2506085090 Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK
in Slovene 16 Jun 90 p 1

[Unattributed boxed report: "Peterle Carries Tito Away"]

[Text] Before the Slovene government session yesterday, Premier Lojze Peterle took a picture of Josip Broz Tito off the wall of the session hall and personally carried it

out. We were later told in the prime minister's secretariat that Peterle will not comment on this act and that we should ask the government press spokesman for a statement. Branko Podobnik, who is the spokesman, conveyed to us the following statement:

"At the very first session of the Executive Council, it was proposed that the picture of the late President Tito should be removed from the session hall. The respective service department of the Executive Council was asked to do this before the session yesterday, but it forgot to do so. Before the session therefore, Premier Lojze Peterle himself carried the picture to another room. In his opinion there is no longer any reason for pictures of the late president to be hanging in public offices. The events in Slovenia and elsewhere in Yugoslavia show that matters run quite differently in comparison with the times when the president was alive. Therefore it is no less than an anachronism to keep his pictures in public offices."

Slovene Democratic Alliance Holds Congress

Adopts Sovereignty Declaration

AU2706103190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
25 Jun 90 p 3

[S. Sicarov report: "Applause for Sovereignty"]

[Text] Ljubljana—Even though it won only eight percent of the votes in the elections, the Slovene Democratic Alliance [SDZ] is, due to the distribution of its seats and ministerial departments, the most powerful and influential party in the ruling Demos [Democratic Opposition of Slovenia] coalition, which was something that was demonstrated at the party's second congress held on Saturday and Sunday [23 and 24 June].

Apart from a new statute and a reformed party program, 135 delegates also adopted a new "image" for the national-conservative party, which, in the words of Dr. France Bucar, corresponds completely with the Slovene character, which is neither opportunistic nor extreme. The SDZ is the "mother party" of all the parties gathered in Demos and is now seeking its own political grass roots which, in the words of the present president of the party's Council, would be made up primarily of educated people. The main aim of the congress was to give the SDZ a clear profile as a political party.

However, the congress proceedings showed that two currents exist. Delegates from the interior accused the leadership of being centralistic and inflexible, while the party's leading people, who are now in positions of leadership in the republic, endeavored to prove that they are still not able to implement the pre-election program. Thus, Dr. Dimitrije Rupel stressed that the party's representatives in the government still cannot believe that they won power and occasionally act like members of the opposition.

Differences were most obviously manifested regarding Slovenia's attitude to Yugoslavia. In his introductory speech, Dr. Rupel first of all stressed that Slovenia would participate in the Yugoslav system only on the basis of consent, and he added that this meant abolishing the powers that the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly now has and setting up coordinating bodies to represent the Yugoslav peoples. He also opposed the all-Yugoslav elections for the Federal Assembly, which, according to him, would most suit centralist and Serbian politics, and he proposed that democratic elections in Yugoslavia be concluded in the republics and that the Yugoslav parliament be made up of republican delegations.

According to Dr. Rupel, democracy depends above all on resolving the Slovene national issue and therefore the main aim is the achievement of national reconciliation.

However, after working in commissions, the delegates adopted with prolonged and tumultuous applause a declaration on proclaiming the sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia. The SDZ submitted the proposed declaration to the Slovene Assembly and other members of Demos. It will be discussed at the next assembly session on 2 July, and if the other parties in Demos do not manage to discuss it, members of the Demos deputies' club will also be briefed on its contents, and it should be expected that the declaration will soon be passed.

The delegates also supported with acclamation the decision to propose to the Assembly that it establish an exact date for reconciliation—that is to say, the date that will mark the exact end of the war—and the proposal that all wartime and postwar crimes be investigated, that the innocent be amnestied, and that all illegally acquired property be confiscated from the culprits.

The proposal from the "Young Initiative," that the present republican symbols be changed, was also unanimously adopted.

After a polemical discussion on whether to empower the government to influence the editorial policy of the media, a compromise solution was adopted whereby the final assessment is left to the party's executive council. Dr. Dimitrije Rupel, one of the party's founders, an Assembly deputy, and republican minister for foreign affairs, was elected president of the Executive Council. [The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Text of the Declaration

1. In line with amendments 9.10 [as published] and 92 to the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, and proceeding from the third article of the SFRY Constitution and the provisions of the International Covenant on Human Rights, the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia proclaims the full sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia, as a state of the Slovene people and all citizens of Slovenia, which is founded on the sovereignty of the Slovene people and citizens of the Republic of Slovenia.

2. The political, economic, and legal system of the Republic of Slovenia is founded on the Constitution and the laws of the Republic of Slovenia. All other legal acts, including the SFRY Constitution and the federal laws, are only valid on the territory of the republic of Slovenia if they are in line with the Constitution and laws of the republic of Slovenia. International legal acts are valid in the republic of Slovenia as equal legal acts from the day they are ratified by the Assembly of the republic of Slovenia.

3. In line with the principles of state sovereignty and the principles of the priorities of the Constitution and the Law of the republic of Slovenia, the Assembly of the republic of Slovenia sets out that all federal organs on the territory of Slovenia operate in line with the valid legal order in the republic of Slovenia, defined in the second point of this declaration.

4. In line with this declaration, the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia is to pass a special law on the validity of federal regulations on the territory of the republic of Slovenia.

5. The Assembly of the republic of Slovenia must implement the envisaged procedure for the valid acceptance of the self-determination of the Slovene people within one year.

Opening Session Noted

AU2306170790 Ljubljana Domestic Service
in Slovene 1330 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] The congress of the Slovene Democratic Alliance opened in Ljubljana today. By amending the statute and adopting a new program, the congress plans to strengthen the organization and to guarantee it an even more reliable future. Gojko Brvar reports:

[Begin recording] [Brvar] France Bucar noted that the parties that gained less than 10 percent of the votes were politically marginal, and the Slovene Democrats were saved from this fate only through their links with Demos [Democratic Opposition of Slovenia]. With the new political image which would put the alliance somewhere at the political center, they should get a more decisive portion of the ballots cast.

Dimitrij Rupel, who prepared the keynote address, drew attention to the fact that new dangers are only now opening in the field of power. He devoted his primary attention to four chapters: the attitude to Yugoslavia—as we know, he envisages confederal links—the attitude to Europe—for the Slovene state ambitions, Europe of regions seems to him too low a level—the attitude to the new opposition, and the Slovene state language.

The last of these is a stand that indirectly, on the level of principle, defends the well-known stance of Rajko Pirnat in the republican Assembly. Rupel used it to analyze the attitude according to which, in some arbitrary way, Serbo-Croatian should be the language of the masters, and this is even more evident if a military commander

uses it. Rupel thinks that it is completely misplaced to compare the right to use the Slovene language in the Trieste Assembly with the right to use the Serbo-Croatian language in the Slovene Assembly.

(?Whether one could also) discern a concealed threat of purges in top positions in the economy and public services, you can judge by yourselves from the following excerpt of Rupel's speech. There can be no dispute about its being authentic:

[Rupel] One should say in this connection that the present authorities—if I may call them so, but probably I may, or even must, do so—that these authorities are like a foam on the surface of deep and not quite clear water. Unknown currents flow under this foam, and traps, whirlpools, and shoals lurk beneath. There is much life as it used to be under the thin layer of the new political representation. There are many embedded and fossilized structures that cannot be seen, but nevertheless decide on our life in many ways.

While the new government swims with great uncertainty, it has against it a strong opposition, tempered through the long years of rule. The position to which the representatives of our party have risen is on first sight respectful and important, but it is quite uncertain, and it is hardly the position of a master.

[Brvar] A small disquieting could be heard at the beginning of the congress, because Delegate Tine Velikonja quite openly accused the leadership of the party that it has neglected the cause of the party for the sake of official positions, and that the party committed a great blunder when it allowed the Christian Democrats to leave it, because otherwise it would have been the Slovene HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] by now.

As I am reporting, the congress began its work in five commissions. It is supposed to conclude tomorrow. [end recording]

Congressional Details Viewed

LD2306232690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1326 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Jun (TANJUG)—The second congress of the Slovene Democratic Alliance [SDZ] opened today. On behalf of the Demos [United Opposition], Joze Pucnik greeted 135 delegates representing 5,000 party members. He stressed the need for unity so that common goals, without which there could be no opportunity for the affirmation of the plurilistic multiparty system in Slovenia and for the affirmation of a free and independent Slovenia, are achieved.

On behalf of the Croat Democratic Community, Antun Vrdoljak greeted the meeting and extended the greetings of Dr. Franjo Tudjman. "Changes in Slovenia helped us in Croatia," Vrdoljak said and added that "the freedom

enjoyed by Slovenes and the dream about the liberty of man are gradually reaching Kosovo, which is what we all wanted."

Representatives of the following parties addressed the participants of, and the guests at, the gathering: the Slovene Peasants' Union, the Socialist Party of the Corinthian Slovenes, the Austrian People's Party, the Slovene National Party from Italy, and a representative of Slovenes living in the United States. Ivan Oman, Presidency member, wished the congress successful work on behalf of the Presidency of the Slovene Republic. Presidency President Milan Kucan, the Austrian Federal Minister for Science and Research, the Bavarian Provincial Bureau, Free Democrats from Hungary, and the Austrian consul-general in Ljubljana sent telegrams to the gathering.

Dr. Hubert Pozarnik delivered the report about the work of the party Executive Committee, assessing that the Demos victory at the spring elections "represents a significant turning point in Slovene history. We have never been closer to achieving our goals," Pozarnik said, "which are the full affirmation of human liberties and the affirmation of Slovenia as an independent state."

The president of the SDZ Council, Dr. France Bucar, said that the SDZ invested most of its political capital in the Demos, and it itself is reaping rich dividends from it.

Bucar stressed that the SDZ must carve a niche for itself in the Slovene political scene, which is, according to him, political broadmindedness, tolerance, and opening of new political horizons and breaking links with the former narrow mindedness.

Dr. Dimitrij Rupel presented the SDZ program orientations, that is, its strategic goals for the next period. This party will remain in the center of political events and will evolve if it persuades Slovenes that with its assistance they could have a safer and easier life, can work more successfully, and conduct economic activity in a more efficient manner, Rupel said. He added that its priority remains a new Slovene constitution. This constitution would provide a basis for negotiations about a new confederal contract between Yugoslav nations. The SDZ will, according to Rupel, press for the negotiations to have a decisive outcome and to achieve the desired result: a free and independent Slovenia within the Yugoslav confederation, and, if this is not possible, then Slovenia outside Yugoslavia, but in any case within a restructured and united Europe.

Rupel holds that in times to come, judging by everything, the political, economic and cultural differences between nations living with Yugoslav territory will become increasingly prominent. The SDZ should champion the respect for differences and an independent development of all nations, and above all the Slovene nation, Rupel

said. I hope, he added, that this orientation can be implemented within a confederation, and if it can, then only on the basis of the authentic interests of the Slovene state.

According to Rupel, Slovenia will have the democratic political system, which would "not be hampered by retrograde processes in other Yugoslav environments and which would not be subordinated to the policy shaped by the majority in Yugoslavia." Slovenia can take part only in a system, Rupel holds, which shapes a common policy on the basis of consensus. This, he added, means that the power of the Federal Assembly and the Federal Chamber must first be revoked, and at a later stage, coordinating bodies representing Yugoslav nations must be set up. This applies to the area of defense and foreign policy also.

The fact that Slovenia is waiting "on the threshold of Europe," Rupel went on to say, is explained with Markovic's metaphor concerning a convoy travelling at the speed of its slowest member. However, if Slovenia is a lifeboat on a sinking Titanic, then it should cut off its ropes. A Slovene plea to join Europe can be, Rupel holds, justified with the thesis that Slovene membership would give the impetus for democratic processes in other parts of Yugoslavia. Rupel pointed out that allusions to Slovene separatism are transparent, because he said, Slovenes are today a mature European nation, which means that they are far from thinking of Slovenia as an island in the middle of European turmoil.

Talking about democratic elections in Yugoslavia, Rupel said that elections in Yugoslavia can only be elections in republics. A Yugoslav parliament, if there is need for it to exist at all, can consist only of delegations elected by republics. In a Yugoslav parliament, Rupel holds, all delegations would have an equal number of members and each delegation, in essence, just one vote. Otherwise, there could be no Yugoslavia. Slovenia can agree to confederal contract only, and not to a federal constitution. "Slovenia will have its own constitution, or there will be no Slovenia," Rupel stressed.

Rupel paid special attention to the issue of the official language, saying that in Slovenia, apart from Slovene, Italian, and Hungarian, Serbo-Croatian can be heard frequently. The impression has been created in the Slovene culture that Serbo-Croatian is the language of masters, Rupel said, and this impression is similar to the one which the Irish, Welsh, Indians, or South Africans have of English. It is completely out of place to compare, he said, the right to use Slovene in the Trieste Assembly and the right to use Serbo-Croatian in the Slovene Assembly.

The congress continues its work in commissions this afternoon. Tomorrow it will end with the adoption of a statute and the election of officials.

Resolutions Passed

AU2606184990 Ljubljana Domestic Service
in Slovene 1330 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Gojko Brvar report]

[Text] With a tumultuous applause, the delegates at the second congress of the Slovene Democratic Alliance adopted a resolution which they called a declaration on the sovereignty of Slovenia, but they then decided nevertheless to have a vote on it, to see anyone who is against, as a voice from the floor could be heard to say. The declaration advocates independence and sovereignty as the basis for any subsequent talks on the common Yugoslav fate. A few other points were added to define this sovereignty more precisely, for instance that the Slovene Territorial Defense cannot accept any orders bypassing the Slovene authorities; or that all the international links should be directed to lead to an international recognition of the Slovene state. Lipa was adopted as the national currency target. In the Slovene Assembly, the deputies of the Slovene Democratic Alliance should work to have Ljubljana Revolution Square renamed Reconciliation Square.

The congress adopted a resolution to convene a Slovene world congress. If a collective membership will be formally required, the Slovene Democratic Alliance was empowered by the congress to join.

Control of, or influence on, public information media appeared to have been too much to chew. The congress left the problem to the council of the alliance. The discussions ranged from the introduction of party television channels to the demand that the government should appoint editors, primarily in the radio and television. As a state institution, it was said, the radio and television cannot be independent.

Much work also concerned the question of reconciliation and the punishment of those responsible for war and postwar crimes. The resolution adopted contains a demand that the reconciliation should embrace only acts committed during the war, and all the acts committed after the war should be examined and punished. To put it simply, this would mean that the amnesty would apply, for instance, to the bloody deeds at Urh near Ljubljana, but killings of the Home Guards in Rog do not, in the eyes of the Slovene Democratic Alliance delegates, deserve an amnesty.

The resolution also included the request that the Federal Chamber be abolished at the federal level. No elections should be held to that chamber in Slovenia, and its powers should be transferred to the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces, which would be the first step to the confederalization of the state.

If we are to consider the voice of the people which at this congress frequently emerged from the otherwise moderate documents, and if the Slovene Democratic Alliance would be the party having the majority in the parliament, a great purge would occur in the coming days. All

the directors that display any red hue would get the axe, members of the Academy of Arts and Sciences would be replaced or left to a new body checking their suitability, and the purge at the university would involve all who are suspected to have reached their position with the aid of the former regime. In short, when the heads of the public media are done with, it will be the turn of others, if not before.

Fortunately, the more sensible part of the party leadership warned that such a conduct would get a rather poor reaction among the public and that matters should be tackled in a less repressive way. The red directors will be able to continue in their posts if they are good. University professors will have to admit competition, for instance in the form that students will be able to select lectures to attend. The cadre policy among the academicians is to be left to biological processes, considering that elderly people are involved.

As regards the Slovene Democratic Alliance, the obligatory addressing the teachers as comrades should be dropped. The proposal that the term should be replaced by Mr., Mrs., or Miss, depending on the gender, did not get the vote, and this almost caused a split in the party.

Congress Ends

LD2406162790 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1601 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 Jun (TANJUG)—The Democratic Alliance of Slovenia Sunday [24 June] closed its congress in Ljubljana, capital of the Yugoslav republic of Slovenia.

The congress elected Dimitrije Rupel, member of the republican government, as its president and adopted a program and a number of resolutions.

The delegates greeted by acclamation the declaration on the full state sovereignty of Slovenia and a proposal that the republican assembly adopts and makes public the declaration at its next session.

Slovenia in April held its first postwar multiparty elections, at which the communists were defeated and victorious was the united opposition alliance Demos [Democratic Opposition of Slovenia] (which also includes the Democratic Alliance of Slovenia).

Serbian Reform, Elections, Kosovo Status Covered

Assembly Approves Federal Amendments

LD2606212390 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1712 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jun (TANJUG)—The parliament of Serbia, Yugoslavia's largest republic, today approved the draft amendments to the federal Constitution, proposed by the federal government.

Serbian Constitutional Commission member Budimir Kosutic said that Serbia was for Yugoslavia as a democratic federation. Should it, however, turn out that others want a confederation, "all constitutional issues will be open to equality-based talks," he specified.

Serbian Presidency President Slobodan Milosevic said at the parliament's session yesterday that, should Yugoslavia be organized as a confederation, the issue of borders between the republics would become an "open political issue."

The Serbian parliament today also passed a "Law on the Activities of Republican Bodies in Special Circumstances," which enables the Serbian parliament to take "necessary measures" on the territory of the province of Kosovo, which is a part of Serbia.

"Special circumstances" imply attempts to topple the constitutional order and undermine the territorial integrity of the Republic of Serbia, the failure of the provincial bodies to carry out laws and situations when human lives are threatened.

Under the law, the Assembly of Serbia has been empowered to appoint new officials "should circumstances so require."

The ethnic-Albanian members of the Serbian parliament walked out of the session because their request for the debate on the respective draft law to be put off was not approved. They maintain that the law is not in keeping with the constitutions of Yugoslavia, Serbia and Kosovo.

Proclaims 'Special Circumstances' in Kosovo

LD2606165490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1549 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 26 Jun (TANJUG)—Under urgent procedure during their session today, the delegates of all three chambers of the Serb Assembly adopted a decision whereby special circumstances [posebne okolnosti] have arisen as of today on the territory of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. Their decision is in accord with the law adopted today on the action to be taken by republican organs in a such special circumstances.

The immediate reason for this measure (?was the negation) of the state governed by law, lawlessness, abuse of and threats to the social interests, work stoppages in many enterprises, too lenient punishment for brutal attacks on Serb and Montenegrin people, and many other negative events in our southern province.

The Serb Assembly, as the highest organ of authority in the republic, will decide on the responsibility of those who failed to take measures prescribed by Constitution and legislation, and it will abrogate and suspend certain acts and Kosovo or the territorial integrity of the republic. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Delegates Protest Proposal

AU2606202690 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] The SFRY Assembly delegates from Kosovo—Riza Alaj, Iljaz Kurteshi, Neshet Zhubi, Rexhep Hamiti, Nazmi Rahmani, Riza Gashi, Musli Zhushi, Kurtesh Salihu, Zija Kasumlar, Sefedin Lushi, Rame Alihajdari, Ali Zenuni, and Jusuf Kelmendi—have sent an open letter to the SFRY Presidency and the SFRY Assembly, which states, among other things:

At a moment when the foundations of AVNOJ [Antifascist National Council for the Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia and the other gains achieved by the joint struggle of our peoples and nationalities in the war and during the postwar development of Yugoslavia are seriously imperiled, Kosovo is placed in special peril by the removal of its rights to autonomy laid down in the SFRY Constitution. The most drastic example of all this is the Serbian Republican Assembly's approval at its meeting on 25 June this year of the Serbian Presidency's proposal that a new Serbian constitution should be drawn up. This decision was made against the SFRY Constitution and without any opportunity for the peoples and nationalities of Kosovo to state their views and convictions, and ignored and distorted the historical facts concerning the creation of the autonomous provinces and their entry into the structure of federal Serbia and into federal, democratic Yugoslavia. This, in practice, implies the elimination of the autonomy won in the common struggle for national and social freedom.

On this basis and bearing in mind the responsibility we feel not only for Kosovo but for the whole of Yugoslavia and the fact that the Albanian nationality is an integral part of the Yugoslav community, sees the determination of its future together with and equal to all other peoples and nationalities, and is committed to the Yugoslavia of AVNOJ and Tito, which is an integral part of the future prospects of Europe and the modern democratic world, we, delegates to the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber from Kosovo, ask the SFRY Assembly to block this road, especially the act that reduces the autonomy of the province to an extent that objectively implies its elimination.

We present this demand at a time when the SFRY Presidency, in a clear statement, as stressed in the speech of the SFRY Presidency president at the joint meeting of the two SFRY Assembly chambers held in May this year, has shown its determination to put an end to anticonstitutional activities. The approval procedure and the content of the proposed new constitution of Serbia, approved at the most recent meeting of the Serbian Assembly, not only conflicts with Amendment 47 of the Constitution of Serbia, but is also in direct opposition to the first paragraph of the Basic Principles of the SFRY Constitution, which states that the working people, peoples, and nationalities realize their sovereign rights in the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces in

conformity with their constitutional rights, and in Yugoslavia when this is determined in the common interest by this constitution.

In a situation where the basic principles and provisions of the SFRY Constitution, the Constitution of Serbia, and that of Kosovo are not respected, and the views and declarations of the peoples and nationalities and the Assembly of Kosovo are not heeded, a proposal for drawing up a new constitution of Serbia has been approved. We consider it unacceptable that the functions of the province should be removed and its legal bodies suspended under the laws of the Republic of Serbia.

As representatives of the people in the highest state body, the Albanian delegates' letter ends, we affirm that the Albanian nationality, too, is in favor of a federal, democratic Yugoslavia of equal peoples and nationalities, and fully respect national and civil rights and the full autonomous rights of the Province of Kosovo as an active participant in the creation of federal, democratic Yugoslavia.

Opposition Requests Media Forum

LD2606143290 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1324 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jun (TANJUG)—The National Radical Party in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia today requested that the five leading opposition parties in the republic be given access to public media, especially television, in the next four days, that is, until 1 July, to present their views on the upcoming referendum on Serbia's new constitution.

The Radical Party proposes that Belgrade Television organize a round-table on [word indistinct] of the referendum, that is, on 30 June, so that representatives of opposition parties and authorities could present their arguments and help eliminate any possible doubts among the voters.

The referendum has been called by the Serbian Parliament, at the proposal of Serbian Presidency President Slobodan Milosevic. Voters will on July 1 and 2 have their say on whether Serbia's new constitution should be adopted before free, multi-party elections are held, as proposed by the ruling Communists, or whether the elections should precede the adoption of the constitution, as urged by the opposition.

Albanians Leave Assembly Chamber

AU2606114690 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Milorad Jovic report from Serbian Assembly—live]

[Text] Following a joint session of the chambers of the Assembly of Serbia, at which several proposed federal laws were discussed and endorsed, the chambers initiated separate sessions.

In the Associated Labor Chamber, during the discussion to set the agenda, the Albanian delegates walked out of the session to demonstrate.

The delegate, (Nazim Mojasin), insisted that the proposed law on the conduct of the republican organs under special conditions be taken off the agenda, as he considered it to be unconstitutional and separate from that, as he said, it has not been endorsed by the Assembly of Kosovo.

This initiated sharp polemics and retort from all sides. Finally, Dragan Nikolic, member of the republican Executive Council responsible for Kosovo, explained that the provincial Assembly's failure to discuss the proposal did not mean that it could not be discussed by the delegates of the Associated Labor Chamber of the Assembly of Serbia. Nikolic explained in a rationale behind the constitutional basis for adopting this law. However, this was not accepted by the Albanian delegates from Kosovo who wanted to respond to this again.

When the Chamber decided to accept the proposed agenda in a majority vote, the Albanian delegates walked out of the session; their walkout continues.

Referendum Set for 1-2 Jul

LD2606203690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1306 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jun (TANJUG)—Caslav Ignjatovic, chairman of the republic's Electoral Commission, announced to journalists today the details connected with the referendum which will be held on 1 and 2 July in Serbia so that citizens might vote on whether they support the Presidency's proposal to adopt the new republican constitution, and, on the basis of this, to hold multiparty elections.

For the referendum to succeed, it is necessary that more than half of the registered voters vote in favor of the Presidency's proposal. It is calculated that in Serbia there are about 6.6 million voters, which means that the referendum would succeed if more than 3.3 million registered voters opt for the Presidency's proposal.

Voters throughout Serbia will vote. It is envisioned that polling stations will be open in local communities on 1 July from 0700 to 2200 [0500 GMT to 2000 GMT], and on 2 July from 0700 to 1900 [0500 GMT to 1700 GMT].

Those going on vacation before this will be able to vote as early as Thursday [28 July] to vote at their municipal Electoral Commissions, placing their ballot papers in sealed envelopes.

As for the decisions of Serbian residents who work abroad, there is still no precise standpoint on how this can be dealt with technically. The public will be informed of this at a later date.

The results of the referendum will be announced on the day following the voting. If the referendum fails, the assembly will adopt a new stand on this question.

SPO Calls for Opposition Unity

LD2406201890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1609 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Text] Velika Plana, 24 Jun (TANJUG)—It is vital that all Serbs be under one banner; the chalice of wisdom is in the unity of all Serbs at a time when dark clouds are hanging over this Republic, Vuk Draskovic, chairman of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove—SPO] told about 2,000 participants at an SPO party rally. Having said that the Serbs lost the battle in Kosovo because King Lazar in the poem Knezeva Vecera ["The Prince's Supper"] failed to raise the chalice of wisdom, Draskovic added that "we no longer have the right or the Serbian heads to repeat this stupidity and the misfortunes which have detrimentally affected us in our stormy history." He repeated that the SPO, and a united opposition, advocate multiparty parliamentary elections, requesting that afterwards the people express their view as to "whether they want provinces at all. Whoever of the Arnauts [arnauti: Albanians] and other nationalities who want Kosovo to be a republic, Draskovic added, can pack their bags immediately; there is only room for those who recognize Serbia as their fatherland." Draskovic then called on all Serbs to gather beside the Samodrzha Church and go off together to Gazimestan [monument in Kosovo marking the place where the 1389 Battle of Kosovo Polje was fought] on St. Vitus' Day on 28 June, and in this way show the Serbian inhabitants in this province that they are not alone and do not fear the threat of the Albanian alternative opposition and the Kosovo separatists. In Velika Plana, Draskovic called on those interested to group themselves around as few parties as possible, pointing out that splits and intolerance between the parties could have the victory of "Tudjman or the Communists" in the multiparty elections in Serbia as a consequence.

Milan Komnenic, chairman of the SPO Executive Committee, also insisted, among other things, on the unification of the Serbian nation "as a promised goal."

Commentary Supports Free Elections

AU2506160890 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 19 Jun 90 p 7

[Rexhep Kasumaj commentary: "Kosovo, the Albanians, and Self-Determination —Or, Why Shouldn't Kosovo Announce Free Elections Independently and Draw Up Its Own Constitution, As Is Its Right?"]

[Text] The curtain has now fallen everywhere on the played-out and discredited drama of social-communism and the one-party state.

Free elections are being held in all kinds of places, pluralist forms of power have been instituted, and democracy has regained its true meaning.

There nevertheless remain certain principally Balkan areas, specifically within Yugoslavia, where the party overlords are not abdicating and where their people are not rising to overthrow them.

However, it seems that the united, rhythmic Bolshevik pulse of the single leadership and the loyal people has faded away, not to return.

Unreasonable Doubts

In this context, Kosovo and the Kosovars also, independently of anyone, without waiting for anybody and without identifying their future with anyone else, must do what has to be done: Legalize pluralism, hold free elections, and establish parliamentary democracy.

Seen programatically, the acute issues at this stage of the great game are:

First, for the Kosovo Assembly urgently and in a sovereign manner, in accordance with the federal law, to start approving an electoral law for Kosovo, which will decide the operational framework for political parties, a date for free elections, and procedures for them.

Second, for the Kosovo Assembly to start an orderly procedure, in accordance with its competences, which are always inviolable under the Federal Constitution in force, to draw up a new Kosovo constitution, which would have the general characteristic of maximum territorial and political independence.

Regarding the dilemma that exists in certain quarters over whether first to hold free elections and constitute pluralist parliaments or to draft the new constitution, Kosovo could adopt a step-by-step approach.

With the holding of free elections in Kosovo, a pluralist assembly would be legal and legitimate, just as the present Assembly, although monist, has the legality and legitimacy to represent the people's political will and, in consequence, to decide their vital interests with full authority.

Many favorable factors and trends in current developments invite urgent action in this direction at once, to gain advantage in the furious battle for time and political position.

First of all, the new Europe, which no one can enter as a self-appointed guardian of anyone else, will no longer accept the force of bayonets but only superiority of culture, technology, and civilization; second, no one except the people of Kosovo can decide Kosovo's constitutional and political status in any future Yugoslav federal or confederal structure.

How could it be otherwise now that interethnic friendship has lapsed, while the starting points for possible bilateral dialogue are deeply polarized, distant, and irreconcilable?

The Albanians are, therefore, logically, not ready to submit to any compromise solution that would be an insecure product of the political will of an oligarchy or of a variable balance of forces.

This is their natural, ethnic, and historical right.

Neither Blackmail, Nor Domination

It is those who interfered with our peaceful coexistence who carry the responsibility for the dangerous evolution of such balance, because they defined their freedom by other people's lack of freedom, making the life all their own people especially isolated and miserable.

The double standards of the proponents of a so-called united Serbia, according to which elections in Kosovo must be segregated and in enclaves, or at an all-republican level, are to be rejected.

In the first case, the elections would produce a sterile and unstable government of parity, and in the second, with the elimination of autonomy and the Kosovo Assembly, as this is the dream of those who plan the new colonization, they would result merely in a central parliament imposing a hopeless chauvinist-Zionist hegemony.

However, the people of Kosovo, after all their journeys through the hell of deception, reprisals, and treachery, are determined not to submit either to blackmail or the domination of violence.

There must be an end to the wearisome refrain, whereby the political happiness or unhappiness of the Albanians is measured by movements in Belgrade's orbit, which define their fate or fatality.

This would throw overboard all the machinations of the Memorandum [reference to the Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences on Serbia's past and future] to divest Kosovo of its elementary autonomy and of any real self-determination for its present or future.

The Kosovars, to put it bluntly, would not accept it.

After all, how can a people reconcile itself to the loss of its right to exist, its right to its history and collective memory, its right to equal political status with others, and its own name?

There is no such people in the world. There are only expansionist and self-enslaving cliques that move over the world's surface like tragicomic pawns.

The Albanian people on their bloodstained journey toward freedom, equality, and democracy, values as old as the world, are not like that at all.

Human Rights Protest to CSCE

AU2606143290 *Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian*,
20 Jun 90 p 3

["Text" of "Memorandum of the Pristina Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms to the

Delegations Participating in the Copenhagen CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension"]

[Text] 1. Considering the major importance of the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension in Europe, and seeing that the issue of the equality of minorities and ethnic groups is considered an important factor for the development of democratic relations in a future free and united Europe, the Pristina Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms has the honor of submitting to the delegations of the participating countries an appeal concerning the position of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia, and on the respect for human rights and freedoms guaranteed by international conventions. We wish to draw your attention in particular to the serious situation created in the province of Kosovo, Yugoslavia, which is primarily inhabited by Albanians, after the drastic reduction of its autonomy and the massive violations of the Albanians' collective and individual rights and freedoms.

2. The position of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, who number around 3 million, or about one-half the Albanian nation, has been serious, and has repeatedly culminated in various forms of massacre and genocide. In old Yugoslavia [before World War II], the Albanian people were threatened with physical extermination. On their own lands, where they had lived uninterruptedly since ancient times as the direct descendants of the old Illyrians, they were treated as aliens in their own homeland, and savage campaigns to deport them were mounted.

Discrimination of various kinds against the Albanians also continued after the end of World War II, including deportation, from their own territories, to Turkey and the colonization of Slavic peoples, restrictions on their national freedoms, murder, arrest, imprisonment, and so forth, a campaign which continues intensively to this day, especially in the period since 1981.

We believe that you are aware that a state of emergency was declared three times in Kosovo between 1981 and 1990, and that under the most recent state of emergency, constitutional changes were made in Serbia which destroyed Kosovo's autonomy, which had been guaranteed by the Yugoslav Constitution of 1974.

As a result of the elimination of Kosovo's autonomy, discontent and mass protests broke out among the Albanian population, who make up 90 percent of the total population of Kosovo. The world press reported at length on the case of the Trepca miners, who went on strike for eight consecutive days 900-meters below ground as a sign of revolt and protest against this loss of autonomy. The constitutional changes, which were in themselves a violation of the political will of the Albanian people of Kosovo, were followed by mass imprisonments, political show trials, and what is called differentiation, which means dismissal from work on the basis of political attitudes without any recourse to legal defense. In the Trepca mine alone, more than 1,000 workers were dismissed and sentenced to prison. There

are many such cases among the working collectives of Kosovo. What were called "measures of isolation" were taken against Albanian intellectuals and managers in the economy, which meant that hundreds of Albanians were sent to prisons outside Kosovo, in Serbia, where they remained for up to four months without legal defense of any kind, undergoing severe physical and psychological abuse, although they had not committed any kind of crime. In this year's peaceful demonstrations alone, the police killed 34 people, mainly young, even including children, while 204 others suffered gunshot wounds, hit mainly from behind. This substantially added to the number of killed and wounded since 1981. According to the police organs' official statistics, between 1981 and November 1988 alone more than 580,000 persons in Kosovo passed through the hands of the police, and this number, according to our data, must have reached 700,000 over the last two years.

Sirs, a short time ago, Yugoslavia announced the lifting of the state of emergency in Kosovo. However, this was only a formality in response to the reactions of international democratic public opinion, and was a deception, because the situation which has followed has been even harsher and more brutal than the state of emergency lifted by the Yugoslav Federal Government. The present situation in Kosovo, created by Serbia, which dispatched large police forces, is now marked by savage forms of repression: the daily brutal beating of innocent citizens in the streets and public places, in buses, trains, schools, hospitals, and workplaces; cases of imprisonment and sentences (in which appeals cannot suspend sentence) merely for raising two fingers in the form of the letter "V," shouting "democracy, democracy," or attending funerals; searches; the beating of parents in front of their children and children in front of their parents; and forced police entry into schools, hospitals, religious buildings, and the beating of clergy members.

This Council has material proof of all these forms of repression used against innocent citizens, which it has submitted to international organizations for the protection of human rights. At the same time, the Council has on several occasions written protests and open letters to the highest Yugoslav state authorities, but nothing has ever been done to prevent these things.

In the last two months, after schoolchildren and students were segregated, the phenomenon of the mass poisoning of school-age children appeared in Kosovo. About 7,000 poisoned people have sought medical treatment at hospitals or have been hospitalized. In many cases, the police forces of Serbia prevented the sick from entering hospitals, and beat those who were bringing the sick for medical attention, even manhandling patients and medical staff.

Recently, Serbia has also suspended the internal affairs organs in Kosovo, has taken all the authorities of these organs into its own hands, and has dismissed many Albanian-nationality employees of these organs from work. The organs of Serbia also suspended the decisions

of the executive organs and even the courts of Kosovo, which was not done even under the state of emergency.

Serbia has issued a single law on education and culture and other areas of life without the agreement of the law-making bodies of Kosovo, thus flagrantly violating the rights of the Albanians. It is now carrying out the forced integration of the Kosovo economy with that of Serbia, resulting in the paralysis of economic life and jeopardizing the livelihood of thousands of Kosovo families.

Since 1981, Yugoslavia's military courts have sentenced more than 1,100 Albanian soldiers for political activities, while official military statistics state that by 1988, 32 Albanian soldiers had been returned dead from Yugoslav People's Army units, while their families were not allowed to open the coffins and were not given records of the autopsies.

These are only some of the forms of mass repression being carried out in Kosovo.

The aim of all these forms of repression against the Albanian population in Kosovo is to eliminate the constitutional status of the Albanians in Yugoslavia and of Kosovo as a federal unit.

The Albanian people, who have no separatist aspirations, as Yugoslav and particularly Serbian political propaganda claim, therefore see the only solution in a new constitutional position for Kosovo in Yugoslavia's constitutional order, in the equality of Kosovo in a Yugoslav federation or confederation, and in a Kosovo of equal citizens and nationalities, in which the Albanians will not be considered a national minority, but a people equal to other peoples, all the more so because in terms of numbers they are the third largest ethnic group in Yugoslavia. This solution will extend the sphere of the individual and collective human rights and freedoms of man, and give them a stronger constitutional guarantee.

3. Regarding the position of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, the Pristina Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms makes the following appeal to the countries participating in the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension:

a) that the issue of Kosovo and the Albanians in Yugoslavia be presented and openly and objectively examined at the conference's plenary sessions, because of its seriousness and its importance for cooperation and security in Europe.

b) that the Yugoslav Government be asked to respect the political will of the Albanian people in the constitutional order of Yugoslavia, in harmony with the international conventions on the rights of peoples to self-determination, and to guarantee the exercise of this right in the spirit of the democratic, pluralist processes in Europe.

c) that the Yugoslav Government be asked to put an immediate end to the police repression being carried out

by Serbia in Kosovo even after the lifting of the state of emergency with the support of the Yugoslav Government.

d) that the Council of Europe form an international commission which will directly verify that the situation in Kosovo is as is described in this memorandum which we submit to you, honored participants in the Copenhagen CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension. With respect,

Academician Dr. Prof. Idriz Ajeti, chairman of the Pristina Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, Pristina, 16 June 1990.

Raskovic Addresses Party Rally

AU2306165490 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Dragan Stavljanin report]

[Text] The Serbian people in Croatia have been deceived and endangered for decades, and therefore they must win equality and freedom by themselves. This was said at a large public rally in Petrinja attended by more than 10,000 people both from this and other regions of Croatia. A branch of the Serbian Democratic Party of Knin was founded at the rally. Dragan Stavljanin reports:

[Begin recording] [Stavljanin] Several speakers stressed that the [World War II] pits and mass graves of the Serbian people in Croatia are a warning to the present Croatian politicians that states should be formed for the sake of peace and welfare of the people and not for the extermination of certain peoples. Addressing the crowd, Jovan Raskovic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party, said that the Serbs admit the Croatian people's right to a sovereign state, but they demand that, in such a state, an equal position for the Serbian and other peoples would be guaranteed.

The Serbs do not want a second state in Croatia, but they demand autonomy, such as in 500 cases in Europe. The formation of the community of the communes is a step to that goal.

[Raskovic] (?The Serbian people) in Croatia (?should be enabled) to speak their language, to write their script, to have their schools [cheers], to have their education programs, to have their institutions, to have their publishing enterprises, to have their newspapers. We will build [words indistinct] on Petrova Gora [cheers, applause] and this will be a bigger monument than all the monuments erected to the Serbian people in Croatia. [cheers, applause]

[Stavljanin] We will not allow an Ustasha state to be formed. We will destroy it jointly with the Croatian people, Raskovic stressed. We do not consent to democracy in which there is place for some but not for others.

As an example, Raskovic cited the ban by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Secretariat for Internal Affairs preventing

the Serbian Democratic Party from forming branches in that republic. Just as Ivica Racan made the victory of Croato-centric views possible, thus Nijaz Durakovic is opening the door to Muslim fundamentalism.

Raskovic also referred to his talks with Vuk Draskovic and Zimmermann, U.S. ambassador in Belgrade. Raskovic said that Draskovic told him that if the Serbian Democratic Party continues to spread in Serbia, Draskovic will come to Croatia. I told him that I have nothing against that, but that he must first take into account the interests of the Serbian people. Zimmermann agreed with Raskovic that one cannot enter Europe with hatred and a fragmented Yugoslavia. [end recording]

Association of Serbs in Croatia Founded

LD2506180190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1409 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 25 Jun (TANJUG)—Help and support to the Serbian nation in Croatia, which is constantly exposed to anti-Serbian policy—from economic pressures to political threats—is the basic goal of the newly created of the Association of Serbs from Croatia to Belgrad. The organization's founding assembly will be held on 28 June in the Sava Center. It was said at the initiative committee's press conference today that the association will be supra-party in nature, and will be able to be joined by, in addition to Serbs from Croatia—of which there are more than 200,000 in Belgrade—all other citizens regardless of their religion and national affiliation, but who believe that the Serbs in Croatia need help. [passage omitted]

To illustrate the current situation in Croatia, one of the members of the initiative committee, Stevan Zec, claimed with certainty that the strikes in the Borovo combine, in which over half of the employees are of Serbian background, are the consequence of the direct activity of the Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ), which wants to smash the combine and replace all the Serbian directors.

SAWP Supports POLITIKA

LD2206033290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1456 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Republican Conference holds that the campaign waged by the opposition parties against POLITIKA and Belgrade Television could be explained by the obviously different political views held by them. The Presidium, however, assesses that it is neither understandable nor acceptable from the political and moral standpoint that the campaign wrongly accuses and disqualifies people working in these media.

This is noted in the statement from the session of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference Presidium, held before the plenary session of the Serbian SAWP. The

statement stresses in particular that POLITIKA and Belgrade Television informed the public about topical political events objectively.

POLITIKA and Belgrade television gave a significant and invaluable contribution, it was stressed, toward spreading the truth about Serbia and Kosovo, toward helping people express their interests, and toward implementing important democratic changes in Serbia. In this sense, the Presidium lends its full support to the editorial policy of POLITIKA and Belgrade Television, and assesses that it has been carried out in the interest of objective reporting and active struggle for social reform in Serbia, the resolution of the Kosovo issue, and for democratic processes in the society, the statement stresses.

Croatia Proposes Removing 'Socialist Symbols'

LD2606212290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1558 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Summary] Zagreb, 26 Jun (TANJUG)—The Croat Executive Council today approved the republican Presidency's initiative to have the Croat Constitution changed whereby socialist symbols should be removed from the Constitution's title, and also from the name of the republic. The Executive Council has also suggested to the Croat Assembly that a public discussion on the amendments should begin immediately and continue until 20 July. Amendment 66 stipulates that the Latin script is the republic's official script. The use of the Cyrillic script or any other script should be regulated by special legislation. The amendments also envisage the introduction of an office of the president of the republic of Croatia while the six Presidency members would effectively have the function of Vice Presidents. It is also proposed that the Executive Council should be renamed government, and the republican secretaries ministers.

Croatian Communists 'Facing Bankruptcy'

AU2606080090 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST
in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jun 90 p 4

[R. Mance report: "First Dismissals Handed Down"]

[Excerpt] Zagreb—More than 200 employees in the administrative services of the Work Community of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia-Party for Democratic Renewal have been registered at the Zagreb Self-Managing Interest Community for Employment since yesterday. The day before, everyone, aside from two secretaries, two specialist political workers, and a driver, received notice that they were being released from employment from 18 June this year. The reason? The aforementioned specialist service is being scrapped. The reason why is more or less known: financial—the League of Communists of Croatia-Party for Democratic Renewal is facing bankruptcy!

The same fate also awaits all the other employees in the League of Communists of Croatia-Party for Democratic

Renewal, and it is only a matter of days before another few hundred people out of a total of 1,100—the number of those that this party had in its administration at the beginning of the year—will find themselves at the Self-Managing Interest Communities for Employment. It is now the turn of communal and city committees. Understandably, people have been receiving these decisions in different ways: Some are reconciled to the present situation and hope that they will at some point find a new job, while others are openly disgusted with their party who, as some said, has disowned them and behaved inhumanely. [passage omitted]

Bosnian Socialist Alliance Rejects Tudjman Claim

AU2606204190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
22 Jun 90 p 4

["M.L."-signed report: "We Reject All Tutelage"]

[Text] Sarajevo—The Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Bosnia-Herzegovina yesterday sharply reacted to the statement that Franjo Tudjman, Presidency president of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, recently made in an interview to the German magazine DER SPIEGEL to the effect: "One does not have to be a historian to realize that Bosnia and Croatia are a geopolitical unit."

The Socialist Alliance of Working People Presidium adopted a statement that stresses that "this latest assault on the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot even be justified by repeating the already emphasized stand that 'the Bosnian issue was only raised when plans by Belgrade became known to create a greater Serbia,' because our response would be the same to all those who have such ambitions and encourage each other."

The citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina will not allow anyone at any price to change the borders of the republic. They resolutely reject any tutelage that anyone wants to impose on them. The borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina are not and will not be the line for redesigning Yugoslavia, either according to the map of a greater Croatia or according to the map of a greater Serbia. Anyone who advocates the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to extend their republic's territory pushes the country into interrepublican and interethnic conflicts that could lead to civil and fratricidal war, the statement says, among other things.

Bosnian Referendum Deemed 'Futile Job'

AU2306205090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
14 Jun 90 p 8

[Miroslav Jankovic commentary reprinted from OSLOBODJENJE; date not given: "Death in Installments"]

[Text] Can Bosnia-Herzegovina, like that devil in the sophist debate, stay on the top in the case of the organization (or not) of single-nationality parties? Several days ago, this question did make some sense, but now it is floating on the surface of nonsense like a drop

of oil on the water. The Constitutional Court of Bosnia-Herzegovina has proclaimed the famous "Article Four" of the Law on Citizens Association unconstitutional, therefore, the Constitution permits single-nationality organizations. However, several days ago, the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina suggested that citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina should express their opinion by referendum. Therefore, single-nationality parties will be springing up in Bosnia-Herzegovina either according to the law and democracy or the will of the people. Or they will not appear at all, regardless of whose will that will be. This is that famous top of the needle.

In society, just as in nature, events develop according to their internal logic. If anybody has experienced this strongly, quickly, and very recently, then the communists have. Their entire world tumbled down within a few months, like falling dominoes. While the first domino was tipping over, those who were two places away from it were thinking that the process would stop just before "their" door. And so on and so forth...one fallacy led to another. Something similar has been happening to the organization of single-nationality parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Just as both rain and sunshine come from the north to these regions, the infamous national parties have come before the gates of Bosnia. They are now standing there, most probably waiting for a referendum. In the meantime, as fast as lightning, an (un)expected turnabout occurred in the east of the country where Serbian communists changed their name overnight, plunged into a broad and traditional leftist socialist wing, and even promised multiparty elections. The communists in Bosnia-Herzegovina who are still in power are of the opinion that the people should decide about everything by referendum. A new fallacy!

Referendum, a form of the people's will and a certain degree of democracy, means everything in one situation and nothing in another. In some cases it is like statistics—the correct sum of incorrect emotions (data). Organization on a national basis already exists in Bosnia-Herzegovina in practice, that is, in reality, or "in life," as people here would put it. It is only waiting to be officially registered, like a child born out of wedlock. Had there been no desire among the people to organize themselves on the national basis, there would have been no such thing then. The phenomenon appeared formally under another name but with a very conspicuous image. This child has already been born in the marriage between the League of Communists and a totalitarian state not based on the rule of law, and it needs to have a family and to go to a kindergarten and not to be returned to his mother's womb. This is what official authorities in Bosnia-Herzegovina find impossible to comprehend.

The referendum will only be another drunken, big, unnecessary charge paid as a result of a personal fallacy of the present authorities. However, just as an alcoholic has to go on drinking, so these authorities must go on making new mistakes. They think that the domino will nevertheless remain standing.... The referendum will keep the people and the official authorities occupied

with themselves for a few months, will cost a huge amount of money, and (it is our forecast) will show that at least 51 percent of people are in favor of single-nationality organizations. Therefore, nothing will be gained and only time and money will be lost, but these are still of no value in our country.

The people in this republic had one referendum last winter about the election of the member of the SFRY Presidency from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Both time and money were wasted, only to realize less than half a year later that we, in fact, do not have a state and that the Presidency is completely powerless and almost unnecessary, as are its members. Now here we are again, setting off for a new futile job with the same degree of passion....

...Having forgotten that the said domino cannot stop even if it wanted to.

Chamber Rejects Referendum

LD2606124790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0951 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 26 Jun (TANJUG)—At today's sessions, the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina did not accept—as the Chamber of Municipalities did not on 19 June—the proposal of the Assembly's constitutional commission, in other words the Presidency of this republic, that the people should vote in a referendum on whether they are for or against political organization on a national basis.

Of the 80 delegates in the Sociopolitical Chamber, 48 delegates are attending today's session of whom 27 support a referendum and 10 are opposed; 11 delegates abstained. For a decision on holding a referendum to be valid, according to the rules, at least 41 delegates must cast votes.

Last night the Chamber of Associated Labor of the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina even failed in a second attempt to secure a quorum and so did not vote on the possible referendum, but now its possible views are irrelevant as the two other chambers voted against holding a referendum.

Muslims Oppose Move

LD2506161690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1012 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 25 Jun (TANJUG)—The Sarajevo-based Forum for Protection of Muslims' Individual and Traditional Rights [Forum za Individualna i Tradicionalna Ljudska Prava Muslimana] maintains that curtailing the rights of national and political organizations amounts to curtailing basic human rights. As it opposes this, the Forum maintains that the proposed referendum, calling on citizens to have a say in their own basic rights, is an illegal and illegitimate act. This is an attempt at establishing one political will over basic human rights, something that cannot mean anything but

an attempt of the current authorities to preserve their own monopoly of political organization and decision making.

The Forum's statement, signed by its President Muhamed Filipovic, also stresses that it is absurd to call on citizens to decide on their own elementary rights, which they are entitled to before and regardless of any political and ideological adjudication, that is, they are entitled to them in their capacity as people, in a direct and inalienable way and by birth. [passage omitted]

Opposition Denied Vote in Bosnian Assembly

LD2606132290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1113 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 26 Jun (TANJUG)—Representatives of the approximately 20 political parties which have been registered to date in Bosnia-Herzegovina will not be able, as they requested in their recent meeting with Zlatan Karaydic, president of the Republican Assembly, to take part in the work of the republican parliament with voting rights.

Delegates of the sociopolitical chamber adopted this decision by majority vote. Only one delegate was in favor of inviting representatives of the new parties to participate in the sessions. Five abstained and the rest voted against the opposition's demands.

Bosnia-Herzegovina Warns Against 'Civil War'

LD2606142790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1250 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 26 Jun (TANJUG)—Latest statements by the top officials of Croatia and Serbia have sown unrest among citizen's in Bosnia-Herzegovina who see their destiny being as decided without the benefit of their consent. This is said in a statement from the Presidency of the Bosnia-Herzegovina League of Communists Central Committee.

The statement notes that regardless of the motives, any changes in the borders within Yugoslavia, i.e. in Bosnia-Herzegovina borders, could cause dramatic intra-national conflicts and even an all-out civil war.

Bosnian Socialist Alliance To Become Independent

LD2606105190 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1014 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 26 Jun (TANJUG)—The mass sociopolitical organization the Socialist Alliance of the Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be transformed into a new independent political party—the Socialist Democratic Alliance.

The party's founding congress will be held on June 30, president of the republican Socialist Alliance Mirko Pejanovic told journalists on Tuesday [26 June].

The new party already has some 60,000 members.

The new party's activities will largely be aimed at stopping the economic crisis and major rise in unemployment in this republic, where 300,000 people are currently without jobs.

Sharp negative reactions are coming from the party rank and file to the statements by some politicians in other Yugoslav republics who are raising the question of territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is largely populated by Moslems, but also Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats, Pejanovic said.

Macedonian LC Outlines Election Stance

LD2306181890 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1346 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Skopje, 23 Jun, (TANJUG)—The Macedonian League of Communists—Party for Democratic Change is in favor of a new democratic agreement on the character of the Yugoslav community, which must result from the expressed views of the nation and its republics, and not only that of the parties and national oligarchies. This new agreement must be achieved in the framework of an AVNOJ [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia, recognized as a federal state founded on modern bases, and as a multi-national and multicultural democratic community.

With this orientation the Macedonian League Community—Party for Democratic Change promoted at today's session of the Central Committee the political part of its preelection platform. This notion of Yugoslavia was accepted in today's debate, although it was pointed out that this implies a new approach to the resolution of the national question and the development of stable ethnic relations. [passage omitted]

Summing up the debate, Petar Gosev, president of the Macedonian League of Communists—Party for Democratic Change, advocated the creation of a true parliament, accompanied by the rule of law and commodity production and an economy with a developed social component. It is precisely this which requires the logic of a unicameral parliament with the citizen as the sovereign exponent of all rights.

Enver Biljali from Gostiva proposed that the integral nature of the Albanian and Turkish minority be incorporated into the new solutions for the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, and he requested the redefining of the statehood of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia to this end. Petar Gosev recalled that the Macedonian League of Communists—Party for Democratic Change had specified as far back as at the congress that each citizen of Macedonia is the exponent of his sovereignty, regardless of nationality.

The Macedonian League of Communists—Party for Democratic Change Central Committee voted today, with two votes against, that members of this party

cannot belong to another political organization. It is their constitutional right, however, to decide themselves, freely, and without any pressure being exerted, which party they wish to belong to. The Macedonian League of Communists—Party for Democratic Change in this way cleared up the dilemma over collective membership of the Socialist Alliance of Working People, which is being transformed into a new party, and decided to withdraw its delegation.

Macedonian Journalists Protest 'Persecution'

LD2606204990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1319 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Skopje, 26 Jun (TANJUG)—The Association of Macedonian Journalists will strongly defend journalism and its codes of practice, ethics and morality, Macedonian journalists stress in their message to the Yugoslav public. In their view, it is unacceptable that individual ruling parties can change entire journalistic teams and experienced professionals whom every party, and especially those in power, should appreciate.

In their protest message released today, Macedonian journalists state that their profession in Yugoslavia is at the moment going through a difficult situation as a result of pressures from daily politics and the parties in power. Singling out and selecting journalists as either suitable or unsuitable, and persecution and enforced resignations cause concern and are extremely dangerous as moves likely to push journalism into the state of dependence and strict subservience. Recent developments in some of the better known publishing houses in the country and especially the fate of the leading personalities and teams in the Croatian media seem to be turning back the wheel of history, the Association of Macedonian Journalists says in its message.

Macedonian Workers Party Founded

LD2406165490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1450 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Summary] Skopje, 4 Jun (TANJUG)—The Workers Party of Macedonia [Radnicka Partija Makedonije], which will advocate a pluralist political system, was founded in Skopje today. Krste Jankoski was elected chairman.

Montenegro's Kostic 'Attacked' at Cetinje

LD2406224690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2126 GMT 24 Jun 90

[Text] Titograd, 24 Jun (TANJUG)—On the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the Serbian exodus under Arsenije Carnojevic, a holy mass was celebrated today in the courtyard of Cetinje monastery. The organizer was the bishopric of Montenegro and the Coastal area. On this occasion a group of people made several attempts to disrupt the course of the ritual with shouts and rude

behaviour. According to the Montenegrin Internal Affairs Secretariat, its officers were forced to detain five people for interrogation.

Shortly after this incident a group of about 20 people arrived outside the headquarters of the Cetinje Internal Affairs Secretariat, where they used abusive language and behaved in an aggressive manner. At one point this group attacked Branko Kostic, president of the Montenegro Presidency, who was leaving Cetinje Municipal Assembly to attend today's ceremony.

Security service officers intervened to protect Dr. Kostic and in the ensuing incident two of the officers and one of the attackers were injured.

Those detained were, however, soon released after talking with security service officials. The Cetinje Internal Affairs Secretariat will take measures dictated by law against the offenders.

Markovic, Executive Council Heads Discuss Reform

LD2506192290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1656 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jun (TANJUG)—At a meeting this afternoon, Ante Markovic, Federal Executive Council [FEC] president, and presidents of the republican and provincial Executive Councils examined in greater detail the program of future reforms in Yugoslav society and measures for its implementation.

In addition, reference was also made to a number of legal regulations aimed at further developing the new concept of individual macroeconomic policies and system-related prerequisites with special reference to those in the sphere of restructuring ownership relations in the Yugoslav economy. According to an FEC Information Secretariat statement, the FEC will, during its work on the final version of individual laws, take into consideration some of the proposals and suggestions made at today's meeting. The meeting was also attended by Federal Executive Council members.

SFRY Presidency Debates Economic Reform

AU2606204090 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] The SFRY Presidency has been led to discuss current problems in the implementation of the economic and political reform on the basis of a report submitted by Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council. The session was attended by the presidents of the Presidiums in all the republics and autonomous provinces, and Stipe Suvar, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, acted as chair.

The Presidency assessed that significant results in the implementation of the economic reform have been achieved since 18 December last year, especially in slashing inflation, the dinar's convertibility, a great

increase in foreign currency reserves, increase in exports, and the setting up and development of the merchandise market.

A large number of private mixed enterprises have been established. The number of people employed in the private sector has increased considerably, and the retail trade through private shops has increased. Initial results have also been attained in setting up money, capital, and labor markets, as well as in the field of identifying ownership and the transformation of social property into social capital, which also presupposes a transformation of social enterprises and banks.

The FEC at present is preoccupied chiefly with the questions of the economic reform implementation, and endeavors to make, through current economic policy measures, the present positive trends continue. Ante Markovic stressed. Considering that the changes in socioeconomic relations and in business operations cannot be implemented without changes in the assembly system, it is indispensable that the amendments to the SFRY Constitution and appropriate laws be adopted, to remove normative obstacles to a full democratization of political life and the establishment of a parliamentary multiparty system.

The SFRY Presidency supported the basic directions and provisions of this policy of the FEC and pointed out the serious consequences of the fall in production and the liquidity shortage in the economy and the banks, as well as the problems in the field of social policy. The Presidency supported the federal government endeavors to prevent a great increase in public spending conditioned by the taxation policy being outdated and divided. The conviction was expressed that the Federal Executive Council measures, which will be discussed in the SFRY Assembly, will speed up the realization of the said aims of the economic and social reform, as well as the reform of the political system.

LCY Supports Left-Wing Association

LD2606131190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1041 GHT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jun (TANJUG)—The program orientation for the Yugoslav association of left-wing political forces is supported by most of the hitherto parts of the LCY, the committee for the preparation of the democratic and program renewal of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] has concluded.

As announced at today's session, which was chaired by Miroslav Ivanovic, consideration was given to some open questions of the preparation of the congress of renewal and the basic elements of the future program orientation.

It was assessed that the new program orientation should contain bases for the Yugoslav association of left-wing political forces, which are in favor of a democratic federation, the equality of the nations and nationalities,

and democratic socialism. This new program option should arise out of the political ideas, motives, and interests of a large number of communists and citizens who are Yugoslav-orientated, who are for the idea of communism and socialism as a democratic and socially just system, and for a modern democratic federal state in a united Europe.

The committee assessed that most of the hitherto parts of the LCY support such an orientation and that it will soon be possible to make public, on the basis of it, a draft document of the program orientation. Intensive consultations and the work of the committee are continuing to this end.

The committee also approved a general act on the new organization of the specialist department in the LCY Central Committee, whereby a radical reduction in the number of employees in this department has been implemented.

Youths 'Rampage' in Trogir Over Stabbing

LD2406090890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1525 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Summary] Trogir, 23 Jun (TANJUG)—Two days ago, in a fight that broke out over the noise level in a Trogir neighborhood, Vinko Guina was stabbed to death. According to some reports, his last words were "a Serb killed me." After this incident, a group of 300 young people went on a rampage in Trogir last night, shouting, "We will lynch newcomers." They injured nine innocent people, three of them seriously, and destroyed several cars with non-Trogir registration plates. Among the demolished cars is a car with Swiss license plates and one with Novi Sad plates. The police caught and detained four people involved in the fight. They are still searching for the fifth person, who is on the run.

National Democratic Party Founding Congress Held

LD2406043290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1516 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Text] Tetovo, 23 Jun (TANJUG)—Today in Iljo Panteski Smok Culture Center in Tetovo, the founding assembly of the National Democratic Party [Narodna Demokratska Partija; NDP] was held. The great hall of the center was too small to accommodate all party sympathizers from Tetovo and other places in Macedonia.

Ilijaz Alimi, a teacher at the Kiril Pejcinovic secondary school in Tetovo, opened the founding assembly. He said, among other things, that the NDP, with its program orientations, is the guardian of the nation's interests as well as those of the nationalities living here.

In keeping with the adopted program, the NDP from Tetovo will champion democratic, federative Yugoslavia with the multiparty system, free parliamentary elections, and inviolability of territorial integrity. It will oppose

negation of national awareness and any tendencies to impose a constitutional order.

Dr. Jusuf Redzepi, retired professor at the medical faculty in Pristina, was elected the NDP chairman.

'Movement for Yugoslav Perspective' Established

LD2606142490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1142 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Summary] Pristina, 26 Jun (TANJUG)—A new political party called the Movement for a Yugoslav Perspective [Pokret Jugoslovenske Perspektive, PJP] was founded today in Pristina. The PJP's draft program says the Yugoslav state was founded as a voluntary union of nations in 1918 and is indivisible on the basis of national borders.

Nonaligned Mediterranean Conference Opens

LD2506204290 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1621 GMT 25 Jun 90

[Text] Algiers, 25 Jun (TANJUG)—The third conference of foreign minster of the non-aligned Mediterranean countries opened in Algeria's capital today.

The conference is discussing the impact of the current changes in the world, especially Europe, on the situation in the Mediterranean and ways for a speedy integration of the Mediterranean, a strategically important region, into the European processes.

Opening the conference, Algerian Foreign Minister Sid Ahmed Ghazali said that the Mediterranean countries rightly wanted the positive consequences of the economic and political changes in the world, of detente, disarmament and the new climate of security and cooperation in Europe to be extended to all of the Mediterranean.

TANJUG on Conference

LD2606083190 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0026 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Algiers, 25 Jun (TANJUG)—The ministerial conference of non-aligned Mediterranean countries continued Monday [25 June] afternoon behind closed doors, and its closure is expected tomorrow.

The conference will close by adopting a communique and a declaration on the perspectives of a global dialogue on security and cooperation in the Mediterranean.

Today's afternoon session focused on the Mid-east crisis and cooperation. The tone was set by Algerian Foreign Minister Sid Ahmed Ghazali and Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar, the conference spokesman and Algerian ambassador to Belgrade Ahmed Attaf said this evening.

The conference reached a consensus on the Palestinian, Lebanese and Cypriot issues, the spokesman said.

He added that the participants in the debate admitted that regional cooperation is far below expectations and that resolutions on this matter, which were adopted at the second non-aligned conference on the Brioni Islands, Yugoslavia, had not been implemented.

Speaking about the possibility of the southern Mediterranean countries joining the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), Attaf said that there remain difficulties regarding this question.

He confirmed, however that the Italian and Spanish initiative for forming a Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean, similar to CSCE, "deserves to be investigated" and announced that the present non-aligned conference would support this."

It is learned that Egypt has offered to host the next Mediterranean non-aligned conference.

Greek Parliament President Accepts Invitation

LD2606170690 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1420 GMT 26 Jun 90

[Text] Athens, 26 Jun (TANJUG)—Greek Parliament President Atanasios Kaldaris today accepted the invitation to visit Yugoslavia delivered to him by Yugoslav Ambassador in Athens Milan Milutinovic.

The date of the visit will be set subsequently.

Tensions in Yugoslav-Greek relations mounted in the past several weeks and culminated when Greek authorities decided to require of the Yugoslavs entering Greece to possess 1,000 U.S. dollars each. The Greek side's decision led to protests and blockades of border crossings on the Yugoslav side, that is, in the Republic of Macedonia. The Greek side revoked the decision a few days ago and the traffic across the common border has returned to normal. Macedonia is a Yugoslav Republic whose territory was a part of Serbia until World War Two. After the war, the Macedonians were given statehood and national rights in Yugoslavia.